

DC Gazette

Progressive Politics & Ideas

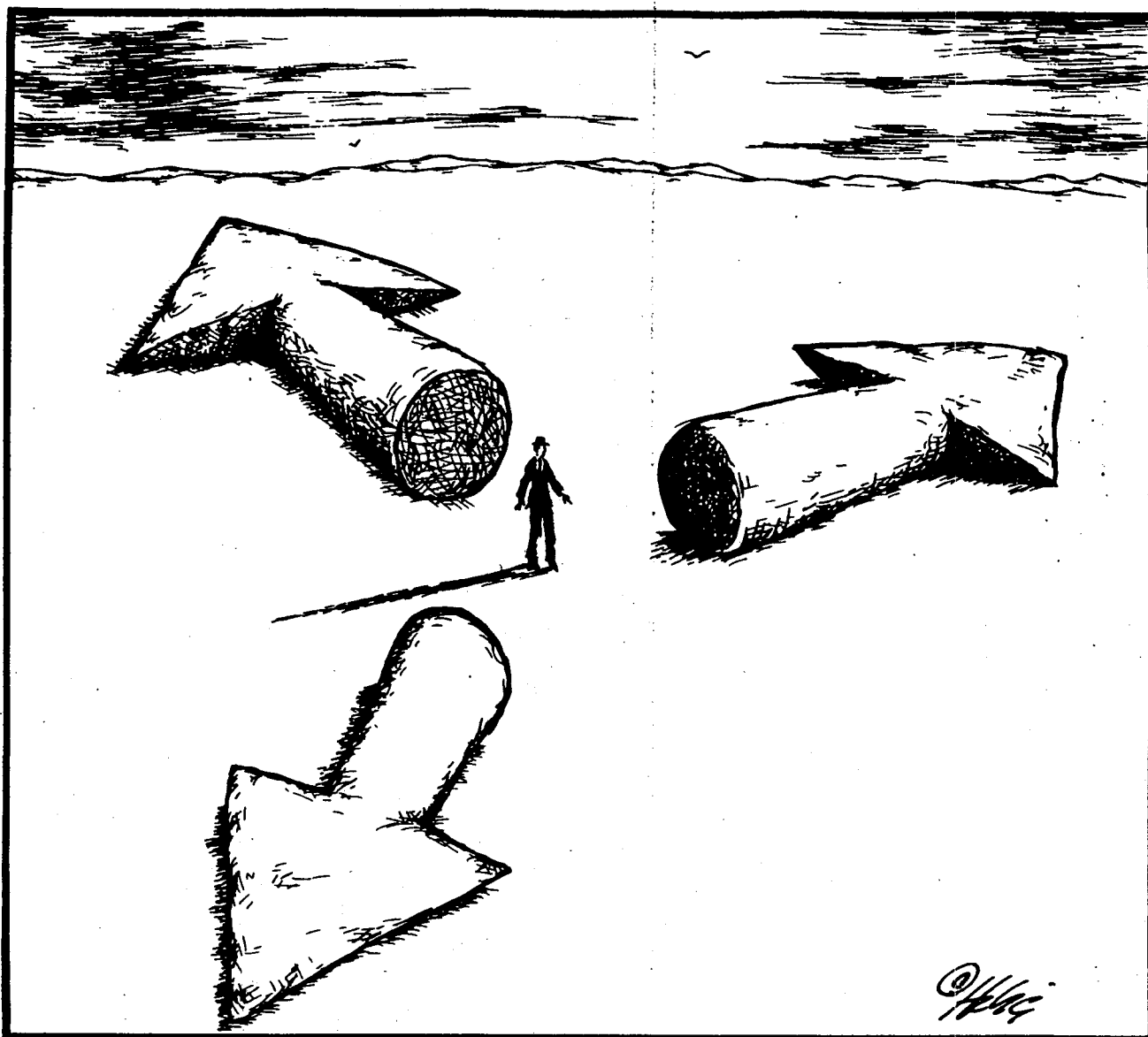
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The Green Alternative



PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER: THE GREEN ALTERNATIVE

Murray Bookchin

Will the peace movement freeze into "nuclear freeze" and disarmament issues? Or will it go beyond a single-issue protest movement to become a broadly educational one -- a movement that confronts the base problem of growing American militarism with its sinister implications for our democracy, our rights as individuals to control our own lives, the integrity of our environment and our need to achieve sweeping social change?

Already the German "Greens" have broadened their opposition to nuclear power plants and missile deployment to include the problems of sexism, centralization of power, restriction on alternative lifestyles and on community self-management. It may well be that their movement will lend itself to internal splits as a result of factions which place a strong emphasis on parliamentary politics and the manipulative mentality such a politics produces. But there is nothing wrong with agreeing to disagree and then tolerantly separating into different organizations with different goals and methods. Variety, we like to say, is the spice of life -- not a New Age homogeneity that fears confrontation when it's directly needed.

What the German Greens have done for us, however, is not to enter the German parliament. They have shown us how to raise and broaden the real issues of peace. They have turned these issues into questions of social reconstruction, not only social protest. They have offered alternatives to the ills of our times, not merely lamented them.

And perhaps more importantly, they have linked armaments, ecology, sexism, lifestyle, community, direct action and decentralization into an increasingly coherent and well-focussed program -- a comprehensive outlook for Germans that Europeans, and hopefully

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[This article is republished from Dialogue, a New Orleans newsletter of community, nonviolence and social ecology]

Americans, will emulate, modify, debate or complete. Whether they win or lose this endeavor is not the problem I wish to raise. What counts is that they are trying, whatever their odds, to open a new way out of a stalemate -- indeed, to escape from the tunnel vision that marks so many protest movements today.

They have worked at defining their own agenda for Germany, not merely reacting to the CIA or KGB's agendas. They have tried to break out of the phony chess game we call the Cold War in which generals, politicians, industrialists and bureaucrats set up the pieces on the board, establish the rules of the game, and then have the gall to ask us to "beat" them in a contest of their own choosing.

The American peace movement has yet to reach this crucial level of action and alternative thinking. We tend to respond to what "they" do up there rather than exercise our own initiative in formulating coherent and unified views as a solution for our problems. We are good at raising such issues as the nuclear freeze, reduction in armaments, opposition to relocation plant, and peace budgets -- all of which are immensely needed. But they still do not constitute a real agenda for America. Will a nuclear freeze diminish the ability of the superpowers to wipe out the world even with a fraction of the weapons that remain in their swollen arsenals? Will arms reduction totally eliminate weaponry that can annihilate countless millions with even conventional bombs? Will a peace budget deal with the way our needful goods are equitably distributed, not merely produced, or lead to the institutional changes we require to achieve such a laudable goal?

All the fragments that make up this complex social puzzle have to be pieced together; single issues do not have to be abandoned. We need more programmatic thinking and theorizing, not only more action.

Consider how peace issues interlock with ecological

[Please turn to page 29]

PROGRESSIVE NOTES



Nuclear winter

If you think you've heard all the bad news about nuclear war, pick up a copy of the October 30 issue of Parade magazine. In it, astronomer Carl Sagan notes that most studies of post-nuclear conditions have concentrated on immediate and long-term effects -- what happens right after the blast and what happens when the long-term fallout starts descending from the stratosphere about a year later. Sagan was intrigued by what NASA had learned from studying the dust clouds of the upper atmosphere of Mars created by storms below.

Writes Sagan: "The dust, lofted by high winds off the desert into the upper Martian atmosphere, had absorbed the incoming sunlight and prevented much of it from reaching the ground. Heated by the sunlight, the dust warmed the adjacent air. But the surface, enveloped in partial darkness, became much chillier than usual. Months later, after the dust fell out of the atmosphere, the upper air cooled and the surface warmed, both returning to their normal conditions. We were able to calculate accurately, from how much dust there was in the atmosphere, how cool the Martian surface ought to have been."

Sagan and a group of other scientists began applying this information to the earth, specifically to the question of what would happen after a nuclear war. Note that the study was not primarily of the radioactive effects, but of climatic issues, similar to those created by, say, the eruption of a volcano. Here is some

of what the scientists found would happen following a 5000 megaton war with only 20% of the energy expended on industrial or urban targets -- as a result of the dust and smoke raised into the atmosphere:

- o Sunlight would be reduced to a small percent of normal -- much darker than a heavy overcast and too dark for plants to live. "At least in the Northern Hemisphere, where the great predominance of strategic targets lies, an unbroken and deadly gloom would persist for weeks."

- o Except for narrow strips of coastline, temperatures would drop to -13 degrees Fahrenheit and would stay below freezing for months.

- o "Virtually all crops and farm animals, at least in the Northern Hemisphere, would be destroyed, as would most varieties of uncultivated or undomesticated food supplies. Most of the human survivors would starve."

- o Because radioactive particles would be attached to all this dust, there would be a significant increase in fallout from previous estimates. Roughly thirty percent of the land at northern mid-latitudes would receive a dose equal to about 2500 X-rays.

- o There would be, of course, all the by-products of such effects, such as the destruction of civil, sanitary and medical facilities. But there would be also the toxic fumes of synthetics burned in the destruction of cities. "Epidemics and pandemics would be rampant, especially after the billion or so unburned bodies began to thaw."

Sagan says not to reassure yourself that a timely flight to New Zealand will save you: conditions will only be relatively less ominous in the southern hemisphere. But it too will experience many of the same disastrous effects.

Nor should you comfort yourself with the thought that you don't need to use 5000 megatons for a war. The scientists ran calculations on the effect of a run-of-the-mill 100 megaton conflict and found that it "would ignite thousands of fires, and the smoke from these fires alone would be enough to generate an epoch of cold and dark almost as severe as in the 5000 megaton case. The threshold for what Richard Turco has called the Nuclear Winter is very low."

The Sagan article, incidentally, draws heavily upon a scientific paper by Sagan, Turco and others called "Global Atmospheric Consequences of Nuclear War."

FREE PRESS FOR WHOM?: Nat Hentoff in the November 1 Village Voice tells the tale of how Newsweek magazine is accusing a New York city labor union of copyright infringement and threatening unspecified retribution if the union doesn't stop circulating a three paragraph quote from a Jane Bryant Quinn column in leaflets

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discussing a labor dispute with Harper & Row. This is, of course, the same Newsweek owned by Katherine Graham who has said that "democracy depends on information circulating freely." Hentoff checked with five specialists in First Amendment and copyright law. Three were so outraged that they offered to defend the union for free; all five, Hentoff reported, thought that since Newsweek has suffered no wrong "the magazine was clearly bruising the spirit of the First Amendment in writing that letter." Concludes Hentoff, "it's downright obscene when a news magazine tried to browbeat people passing out leaflets on the street."

MCGOVERN GOAL: George McGovern last month said that he would drop out of the presidential race if he if he is not among the top four contenders after the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire and Massachusetts primaries.

RAISING WOMEN'S SALARIES: San Jose California, the self-proclaimed feminist capital of the US, is in its third year of gradually raising the salaries of librarians, secretaries and other employees in female-dominated fields. City officials point out that not only have they managed this without lowering salaries in male-dominated jobs, but that San Jose seems to be the only city actually doing something about salary discrimination. Most recently, the city and the local affiliate of AFSCME agreed on another two year contract as part of the comparable worth plan. Under the contract, another \$395,000 will be set aside to raise salaries for the city's still-underpaid workers

PEACE GROUPS HARRASSED: Central American support groups in San Francisco have been suffering from harassment which caused at least one activist to move from her ransacked apartment. Susan Gomez, a member of the Nicaraguan Solidarity Committee, began receiving threatening phone calls after an unknown person placed her name and phone number in two local sex tabloids.

San Francisco's Mission district, long home to activist organizations, now harbors an increasing number of right-wing groups opposing the Sandinista government. Some activists fear that right-wing violence may erupt as it has in Miami with pro- and anti-Castro groups.

SQUISHY CARS: The British government is developing a car that goes squish. The 'soft-nosed car' has its bumpers, radiators and hood all encased in plastic foam, in order to cut down the number of pedestrian injuries. The vehicle is still being tested, but British officials hopes that within five years it will become the standard in Europe.

FAST PADS: A Japanese firm has created an assembly line for houses and is able to turn them out at the rate of one every forty minutes. The instant homes have a ten year guarantee, and if a family wants to renovate, the company simply strips the house down to its frame and pops it back on the assembly line.

In the past ten years there has been a 2000 percent increase in the number of female dentists.

EVANGELICALS AND THE FREEZE: A Gallup poll taken last summer found that evangelical Christians favored a nuclear freeze by better than 3-to-1. The 77% favorable nod was only 8 percentage points behind that of the general public.

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What's a Green?

The Green Movement is a movement which transcends the old framework of left vs. right ("we are neither left nor right; we are in front" -- Green slogan). Its basic concepts include the awareness that human endeavors must be based on the protection of our natural environment; decentralization of government with increased self-governance for regions and communities; and a direct participatory democracy that would challenge anything which threatens a meaningful living existence. Inherent in the Green Movement is a rejection of all forms of exploitation -- of nature, individuals, social groups and nations. The Green Movement stresses the awareness of the interconnectedness and interdependence of all phenomena -- that human beings are just a part of the web of life on earth; that our continued existence and growth is dependent upon the unity of our diversity.

--BRAD OTT
DIALOGUE

HOLLINGS DRAFT BILL: Giving credence to their earlier fears that forced Selective Service military registration would lead eventually to reinstatement of the draft itself, student and anti-draft groups are voicing concern over Sen. Ernest Hollings's new proposal to establish a peacetime draft. The draft proposal is garnering more attention than previous ones because Hollings is a contender in the Democratic presidential race. Hollings proposes that all men aged 18-24 serve at least two years in the armed forces. Currently-enrolled college students would be allowed to finish one semester between the time they were drafted and when they would be inducted, while seniors would get one year to graduate before beginning to serve.

MALE PROFS CONTINUE GAP: The average male faculty member last year made over \$5000 more than his female colleague and continued to get higher raises than her, according to a new study by the National Center for Education Statistics.

SONIA JOHNSON RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT: Sonia Johnson, the ex-Mormon feminist activist, is running for the presidential nomination of the Citizens Party. The party, which was founded in 1980 and got on the ballot in thirty states, nominated Barry Commoner the first time out. Since then, the party has had candidates in 176 races in 24 states and won 11. In announcing her candidacy, Johnson promised to remove the marines from Lebanon, cut the defense budget in half, and withdraw the military from central America. Said Johnson, "On my first day as president, I would announce a national emergency plan to eradicate the conquistador mentality from our culture....My second day would be spent sitting in a circle of nonpatriarchal women from every country, planning how to bring arms immediately and globally under female control....Men have never made weapons they have not used."

In a report on Johnson's kick-off news conference, incidentally, Washington Post reporter Mary Battiatia quoted some of the inane questions male reporters asked

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Q: WHAT DO YOU CALL A MAN WHO LIED TO CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHILE CONDUCTING AN ILLEGAL WAR, RAN THE FILTHIEST CAMPAIGN IN HISTORY, GOT RUN OUT OF OFFICE UNDER THREAT OF IMPEACHMENT, AND AVOIDED JAIL ONLY BY A PRESIDENTIAL PARDON?

A: Respected ELDER STATESMAN.



Johnson such as "Won't voters see this as a wacko candidacy?," "What about your children?," "Is your husband supportive of your candidacy?"

MORE ON VDTs: A new study claims that VDT users suffer significantly more headaches, eyestrain, impaired vision and neck, back and shoulder pain than non-VDT users. The aches and pains are enough of a problem, says researcher Arthur Frank, that VDT users lost a half day more of work over a two-year period than did non-users. An estimated seven million workers now use VDTs as a regular part of their jobs. Frank, who testified on VDTs before a panel of the House of Representatives recently, urged additional studies on the terminals' impact on operators' health and recommended rest breaks and regular eye exams for VDT users.

THE TELEPHONE COMPANY AND COMPUTERS: Computer users in Oklahoma are being faced with a possible 500% increase in basic phone rates thanks to a scheme by Southwestern Bell Telephone to add an "information terminal service" rate for anyone using a computer hooked up to a telephone. Other phone companies may follow suit, hoping to cash in on the growing use of computer-phone links. Out in Oklahoma, a Modem Users Group has been organized with its own hotline (405-360-7462) and CompuServe, the national computer network, is engaged in some precedent-setting political organizing of computer users nationally. As computer columnist Kerry Lichtman put it, "In the past, the individual has been almost powerless against the mandates of mega-corporations masquerading as public service utilities. Now that the personal computer has given the individual a measure of power, the 'public service' utilities are moving to take it away. Southwestern Bell is just the beginning."

SELF-RELIANCE AND THE IRS: An increasing number of non-profit organizations are seeking ways to support themselves through self-reliant revenue producing activities, but one housing group found itself in hot water with the IRS as a result. The Interneighborhood Housing Corporation in the Bronx sought tax exempt status but the US Tax Court ruled that the group's primary activity was commercial in nature -- managing properties owned by New York City as a result of foreclosures. The organization, which had been initially funded by the Campaign for Human Development and the Episcopal Church Housing fund, had attained self-reliance through this arrangement with the city. But the court said, "INHC had simply failed to prove that its management activities differed significantly from a commercial real estate management company." Writing in *an Urban League and Urban Institute newsletter*, Neighborhood Exchange, attorney Robert

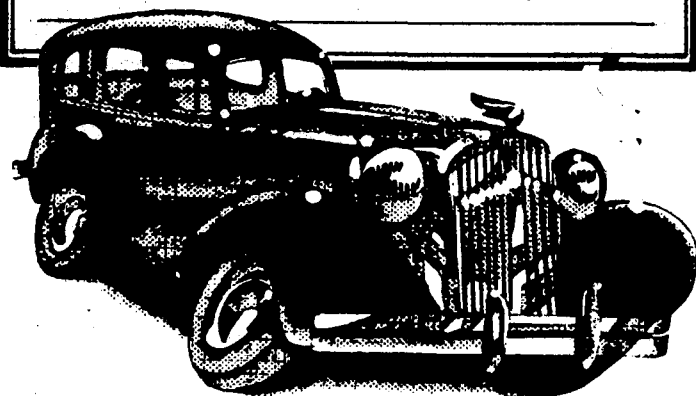
Stumberg notes: "This is the warning to new organizations who seek tax exempt charitable status. The burden of proof is heavier on those who pursue self-reliance through income generating activities."

CHECK-HOARDING: There seems to be growing interest in Washington in doing something about the bank check-clearing scandal. Banks have been increasing their float by lengthening the time required to clear checks. Bills have been introduced in Congress that would require banks to pay interest in interest-bearing accounts just as soon as a check has cleared. Banks would also be required to tell consumers their check-clearing policies. Consumer activists are arguing for more: a set time-limit for check clearing....Federal Reserve vice chair Preston Martin warned banks in testimony before the Senate that unless they speeded up the clearing of checks, Congress would force reforms upon them. And Senator Alphonse D'Amato said that if the banks didn't shape up "you're going to get a law that will make the [interest legislation] look like a pikers."

They are wrong who think that politics is like an ocean voyage or military campaign, something to be done with some particular end in view, something which leaves off as soon as that end is reached. It is not a public chore, to be got over with. It is a way of life."

--PLUTARCH

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One Thousand Days: The Reagan Record

A report from ADA

The Economy

In his Program for Economic Recovery, issued in February 1981, President Reagan promised to raise the real GNP to \$1,638 billion (in 1972 dollars), to lower the unemployment rate to 6.6 percent, to reduce inflation to 5.5 percent by 1983, and to balance the budget by 1984. Instead, the Administration's program has brought:

- o The severest recession since the Great Depression.
- o High interest rates which have attracted so much foreign money that the U.S. dollar has become dangerously overvalued. This encourages imports and discourages other nations from buying our exports, thus putting American goods at a sharp competitive disadvantage.
- o Deficits of \$825 billion over Reagan's term of office, a figure which exceeds the combined deficits of every previous president from George Washington to Jimmy Carter.
- o Unemployment at levels only exceeded during the Great Depression and averaging over 10 percent for the first half of 1983.
- o Public service employment has been cut by 99 percent.
- o Real average weekly earnings, after inflation, declined steadily for all of 1981 and 1982, and are still not up to pre-Reagan levels.
- o Mortgage rates are still about 13 percent, threatening to choke off the fragile housing recovery.
- o Households with less than \$11,500 lost \$8 billion in income in 1982 because of the Reagan program.
- o Households with income over \$47,800 gained \$9.2 billion in 1982 because of the Reagan program.

UNEMPLOYMENT

December 1980, 1981, 1982 and August 1983

Number Unemployed (In Thousands)	Dec. 1980	Dec. 1981	Dec. 1982	Aug. 1983
	7,785	9,389	12,036	10,699
Unemployment Rate	Dec. 1980	Dec. 1981	Dec. 1982	Aug. 1983
	7.3%	8.6%	10.8%	9.5%
TOTAL				
White	6.4	7.6	9.7	8.2
Black	15.1	17.2	20.8	20.0
Hispanic				
Origin	9.5	11.2	15.3	12.9
Both sexes				
16-19 years	17.8	20.5	24.5	23.0
Black				
teenagers	35.0	40.0	45.0	53.0

DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT

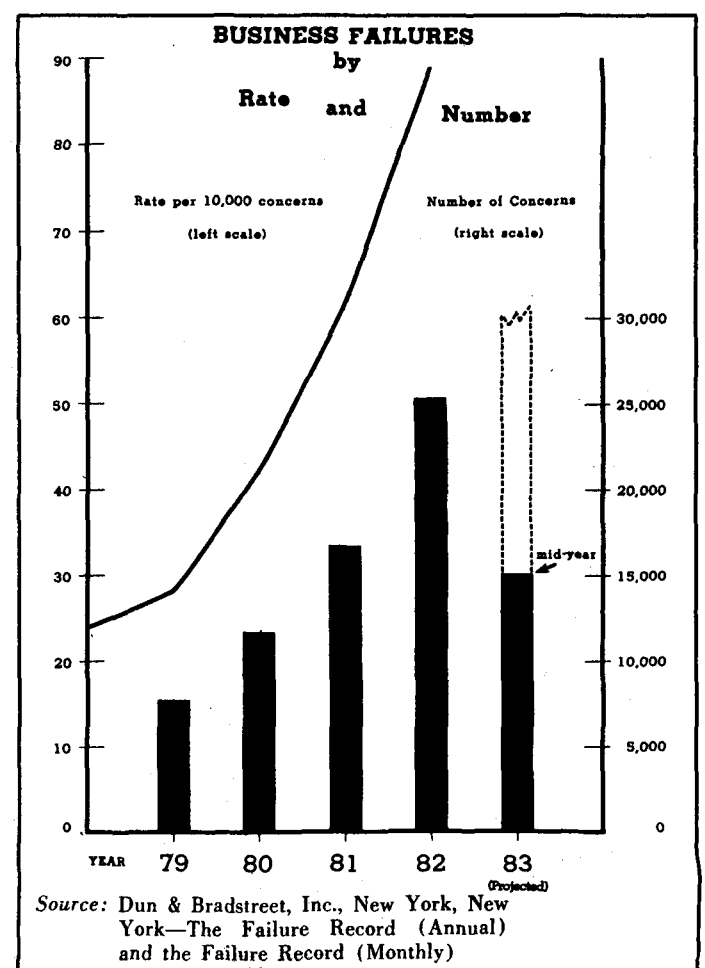
(Number in thousands)

	Dec. 1980	Dec. 1981	Dec. 1982	Aug. 1983
15 Weeks +	2,378	2,407	4,732	4,020
15-26 weeks	1,231	1,224	2,125	1,573
27 weeks +	1,147	1,183	2,607	2,447
Average duration in weeks	13.5	12.9	18.0	19.0

INVOLUNTARY PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT

	Dec. 1980	Dec. 1981	Dec. 1982	Aug. 1983
Number in thousands	4,191	5,325	6,425	5,729

- o The Aid to Families with Dependent Children program has been cut 13 percent since 1981 before inflation.
- o The level of new budget authority for low-income housing programs is only 1.9 percent of its level when the President took office.
- o Although funding for Medicare has increased, because of inflation Medicare funding has actually suffered a real reduction of 5 percent since FY 1981.
- o More than 1 million low-income mothers and children have been cut from the Medicaid program.
- o Food stamps cuts represent a drop of 13 percent from FY 1982 to FY 1985 of 13 percent before inflation.



Education

In spite of the President's recent media campaign to promote education in this country, Reagan has acted to cut education spending across-the-board.

- o Federal funding for elementary and secondary school education was reduced by 19 percent in FY 1982 and 1983.
- o Total federal spending on education is a billion dollars less than the level in FY 1981 (14.1 billion).

Civil Rights

The President has claimed that his opposition to affirmative action and busing is his only departure from the civil right policies of past administrations. But since affirmative action and busing have historically represented the chief means of ameliorating segregation, and the President has proposed nothing as a substitute, Reagan's program is de facto segregationist. Moreover, opposition to affirmative action and busing represents only a part of the Administration's anti-civil rights campaign.

Blacks

- o William Bradford Reynolds, head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, began his tenure by declaring, "We are not going to compel children who don't choose to have an integrated education to have one."
- o The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has charged the Administration with a "concerted retreat from full enforcement of civil rights requirements in education."
- o No suit has been filed against segregation in elementary or secondary schools during this Administration. Only one desegregation suit has been brought, that in the area of higher education.
- o The Justice Dept. is even opposed to voluntary agreements to allocate new job opportunities to minorities.
- o Only six fair housing cases have been filed in the first 1000 days of the Administration.
- o After delaying for one year a decision on his position with respect to extension of the Voting Rights Act, the President spearheaded opposition to its strengthening. Only after overwhelming opposition did the Administration change its position.
- o The Administration has tried, at one time or another, to replace every member of the Civil Rights Commission.
- o Only 4.1 percent of Reagan's appointees have been Black. Almost no minority women have been appointed. Only one Black is in a senior executive service position.

Women

- o The President opposes the Equal Rights Amendment.
- o The Fifty States Project, which was supposed to help states identify and correct discriminatory statutes, does not even have one full-time person on staff.
- o The Task Force on Legal Equity was designed to implement revisions of sex discriminatory rules and regulations. However, the task force has no staff, no funding, and no office. No laws relating to pregnancy or abortion were to be included in the review, as the President believes these have nothing to do with women's rights.
- o The White House Council on Women was staffed with twice as many men as women.
- o Only 8 percent of Reagan's appointee's have been women.

These are excerpts from a report prepared by Americans for Democratic Action on the first thousand days of the Reagan administration (before Grenada). For a copy of the full 70-page report, send \$10 to ADA, 1411 K St. NW, DC 20005

THE REAGAN RECORD— ALL SUPERLATIVES

RECORD DECLINE IN GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

25-Year Record The Gross National Product, adjusted for inflation, declined 1.7 percent in 1982, the sharpest year-over-year decline since 1947. (Bureau of Economic Analysis)

RECORD HIGH FEDERAL DEFICITS

All-Time Record The federal budget deficit increased to \$110.6 billion in FY 1982, the highest one-year total on record. (Office of Management and Budget)

RECORD HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT

49-Year Record The number of persons unemployed increased to a seasonally adjusted 12,036,000 in December 1982, the highest number since 1933. (Bureau of Labor Statistics)

42-Year Record The unemployment rate increased to a seasonally adjusted 10.8 percent in December 1982, the highest rate since 1940. (Bureau of Labor Statistics)

All-Time Record Initial claims for unemployment insurance increased to a seasonally adjusted 703,000 during the week ending September 18, 1982, the highest one-week total on record. (Bureau of Labor Statistics)

All-Time Record The number of persons employed only part-time due to slack economic conditions increased to a seasonally adjusted 6,495,000 in September 1982, the highest number on record. (Bureau of Labor Statistics)

All-Time Record The number of "discouraged" workers, those unemployed workers who have discontinued looking for work because they no longer believe they can find employment, increased to a seasonally adjusted 1,849,000 in the fourth quarter of 1982, the highest number on record. (Bureau of Labor Statistics)

Source:

The Democratic Policy Committee, U.S. Senate

RECORD LOW CAPACITY UTILIZATION

All-Time Record The capacity utilization rate for manufacturing declined to a seasonally adjusted 67.4 percent in November 1982, the lowest rate on record. (Federal Reserve Board)

All-Time Record The capacity utilization rate for the auto industry declined to a seasonally adjusted 43.7 percent in January 1982, the lowest rate on record. (Federal Reserve Board)

RECORD DECLINES IN INVENTORY AND INVESTMENTS

All-Time Record Inventories held by U.S. businesses, adjusted for inflation, declined at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of \$20.3 billion in the fourth quarter of 1982, the sharpest one-quarter decline on record. (Bureau of Economic Analysis)

Seven-Year Record Expenditures for new plant and equipment, adjusted for inflation, declined 5.5 percent in 1982, the sharpest year-over-year decline since 1975. (Bureau of Economic Analysis)

RECORD DECLINE IN PROFITS

All-Time Record After-tax corporate profits, adjusted for inflation, declined 20.9 percent in the first quarter of 1982, the sharpest one-quarter decline on record. (Bureau of Economic Analysis)

RECORD HIGH BUSINESS FAILURES

50-Year Record Business failures increased to (a preliminary) 25,346 in 1982, the highest one-year total since 1932. (Dun and Bradstreet)

RECORD LOW IN THE HOUSING INDUSTRY

All-Time Record New private housing starts dropped to 1,061,100 in 1982, the lowest one-year total on record. (Census Bureau)

Hispanics

o Only 3.8 percent of Reagan's appointments have been Hispanic.

o Of Reagan's judicial appointments, only 3.3 percent have been Hispanic.

Civil liberties

The Reagan record on civil liberties is a litmus test of the President's much proclaimed support of freedom. A review of that record shows that the President has once more made possible the FBI and CIA abuses of the past by eliminating many of the restrictions placed on those agencies. And although the Administration has only infrequently attempted to suppress free speech directly, it has made drastic attempts to limit citizens' right to know what their government is doing.

o New FBI guidelines appear to authorize the FBI to open full-scale investigations -- including infiltration -- of groups and individuals who "advocate criminal activity," including civil rights or peace groups advocating civil disobedience.

o New guidelines authorize the CIA for the first time in history to conduct covert activity inside the United States.

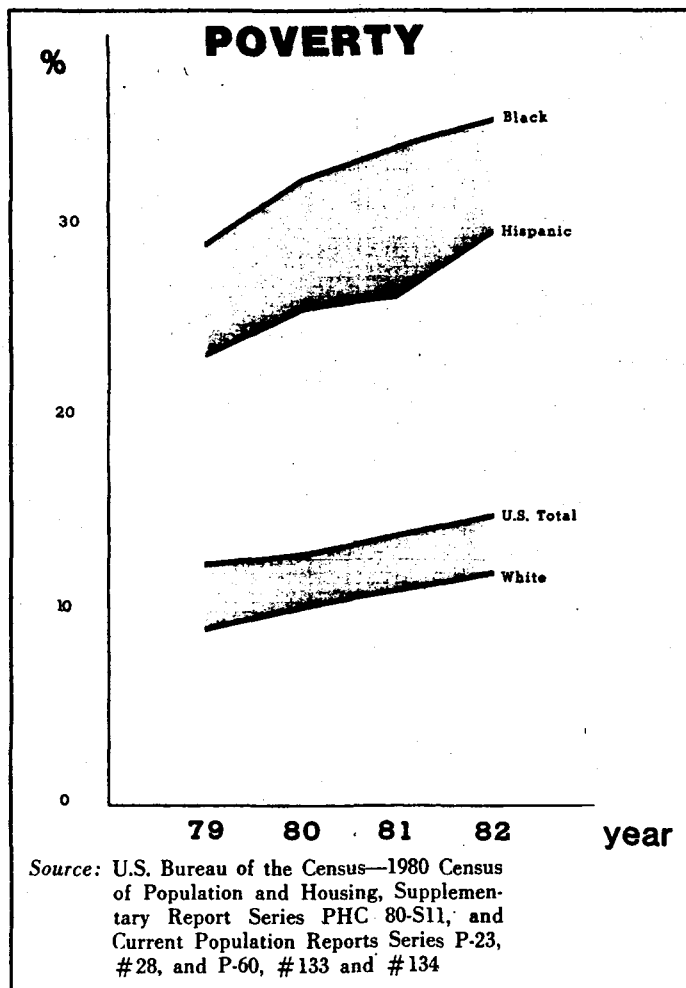
o The Administration has attempted, both legislatively and administratively, to eviscerate the Freedom of Information Act.

o In classifying information, the Administration no longer considers the public's right to know as a relevant factor.

o The Administration has cut legal services to the poor by 25 percent. Reagan-appointed President of the Legal Services Corporation Donald Bogard's only experience with legal services is as a result of fighting legal services lawyers while he served as attorney for Stokely-Carmichael, Inc.

Regulation

Relying on a bankrupt theory that the costs of past government regulation have far exceeded the benefits, the Administration undertook a massive deregulation campaign. The tactics included drastically cutting the budgets of the regulatory agencies, appointing agency heads who were philosophically opposed to their statutory responsibilities, refusing to enforce current regulations, and refusing to issue new regulations.



Occupational Safety and Health

o The number of serious citations are down by 50 percent, the number of willful citations down by 91 percent, and the number of repeat citations is down by 65 percent. The dollar amount of penalties has dropped by 78 percent.

o OSHA has failed to offer a single new health standard, in spite of the fact that the agency has identified 23 chemicals believed to be dangerous.

Consumer Product Safety

o The Administration tried to abolish the Consumer Product Safety Commission entirely, or to strip it of its independent status by putting it in the Commerce Dept., traditionally a voice for business interests.

o Recalls of dangerous products were down 72 percent in the Administration's first two years, despite data indicating that the number of dangerous products on the market is increasing.

Auto Safety

o Thirty-five safety and air pollution standards were dropped in early 1981, not because the costs outweighed the benefits, but simply to save Detroit money. The deregulatory package was frankly titled, "Efforts to Aid the U.S. Auto Industry."

o The Administration dropped the passive restraint (air bags or automatic seat belts) standard, a decision which was later rejected by the Supreme Court as "arbitrary and capricious."

Antitrust

o The Federal Trade Commission has brought no new cases in the following areas: horizontal price fixing, vertical price fixing, price discrimination, and monopolization.

o William Baxter, head of the Antitrust Division of the Justice Dept., has said, "We are going to turn back the clock on antitrust."

Energy

The Reagan Administration has adopted a dangerous energy philosophy: that the "magic of the marketplace" will eliminate inefficiency and disastrous energy emergencies; that OPEC's power is effectively sapped; and that federal intervention is inherently harmful to both consumers and producers of energy. The result of this thinking has been that the United States stands completely unprepared to cope with even minor oil supply disruptions.

o The Administration has proposed accelerated natural gas price decontrol, which could well prove inflationary. Such a program would primarily benefit the major gas producers.

o When Congress refused to go along with the President's proposal to abolish the Energy Dept., the Administration turned it into a virtual adjunct of the Defense Dept. Some

55 percent of DOE's proposed FY 1984 budget is defense related, up from 37 percent of FY 1981's authorization.

o Spending on conservation and renewable fuels has been cut by over 80 percent from FY 1981 levels. At the same time, the Administration proposes to spend close to \$1 billion per year to maintain the Rapid Deployment Force to ensure adequate fuel supplies.

o Despite the Administration's free market rhetoric, federal spending on nuclear power has been increased at the same time the industry's economy has become increasingly precarious.

Environment

Under the guise of fiscal austerity, the Administration has crippled every agency responsible for protecting public health and natural resources. EPA, which had earned a reputation for administrative proficiency and institutional integrity during previous administrations, has been compromised by political favoritism, overt conflicts of interest, administrative incompetence, selective non-enforcement, and spurious scientific documentation.

o EPA's current operating budget is less than the agency's 1972 budget.

o Over 90 percent of the regulatory actions EPA is required to take have fallen behind schedule.

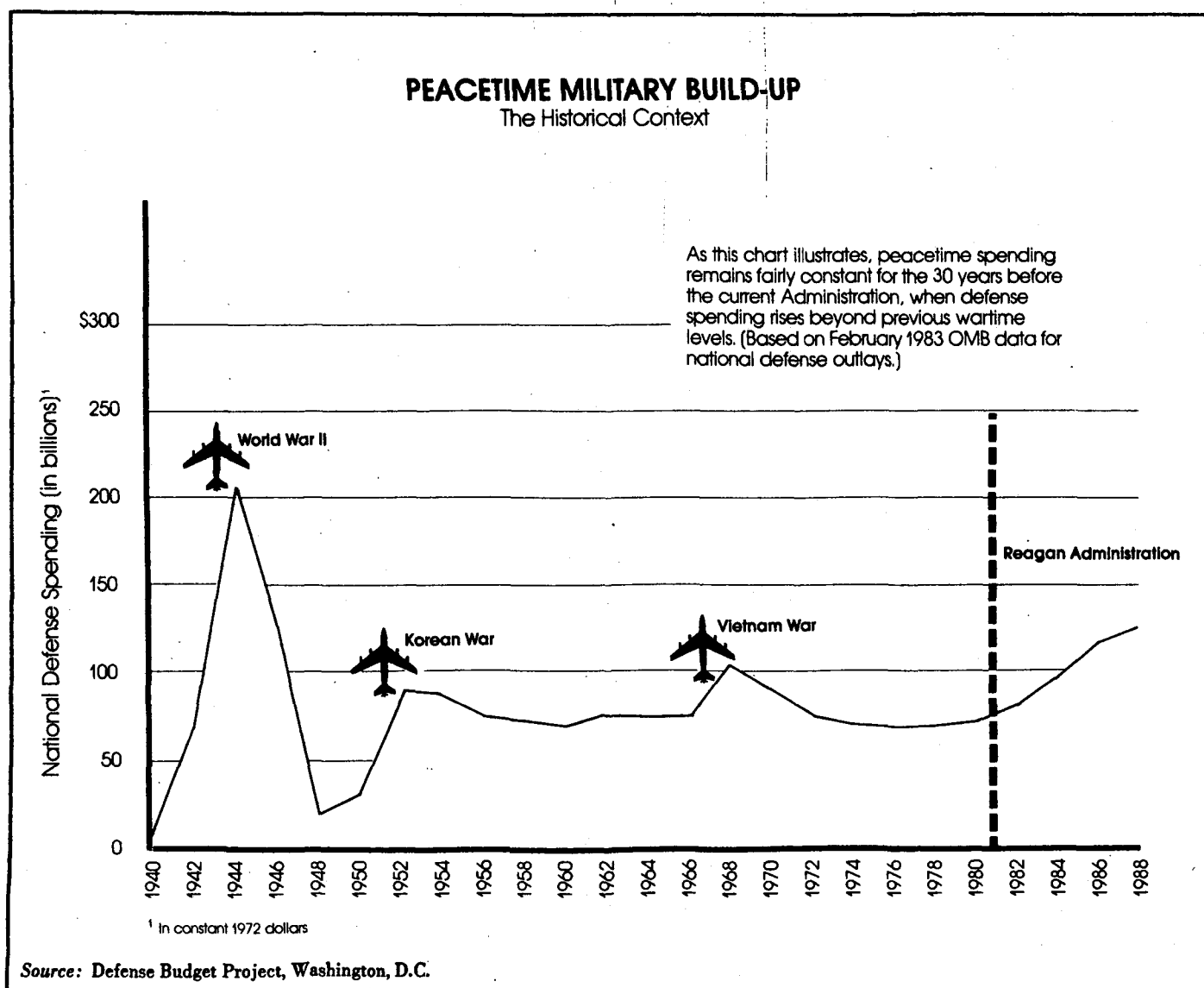
o The number of EPA cases referred to the Justice Dept. for civil or criminal prosecution has dropped 80 percent.

o The Administration has taken no action on hazardous air pollutants, and has consistently opposed all effort to strengthen provisions of the Clean Air Act.

o Since 1981, EPA has not issued a single regulation to limit toxic discharges.

o Despite a low current demand for timber, the Administration proposes to triple the amount of timber cut on public lands.

o The Administration has added only one unit to our 74 million acre National Park System, in comparison to 50 units added during the Nixon/Ford years and 40 units added during the Carter Administration.



o The Administration has opened one million acres of national wildlife refuges to oil and gas development and exploration, violating a 25 year-old government policy of protecting the wildlife sanctuaries from oil and gas leasing.

Arms control

The Administration's strategic nuclear arms control policy is based on a politically effective combination of euphemism and fallacy. The truth behind the rhetoric is that the United States is pursuing an across-the-board strategic nuclear arms buildup while proposing deep reductions in terms which the Soviets cannot accept. It is not likely that the Soviet Union will totally restructure their modernized strategic forces to our advantage, while the United States pursues the full range of the President's weapons procurement program.

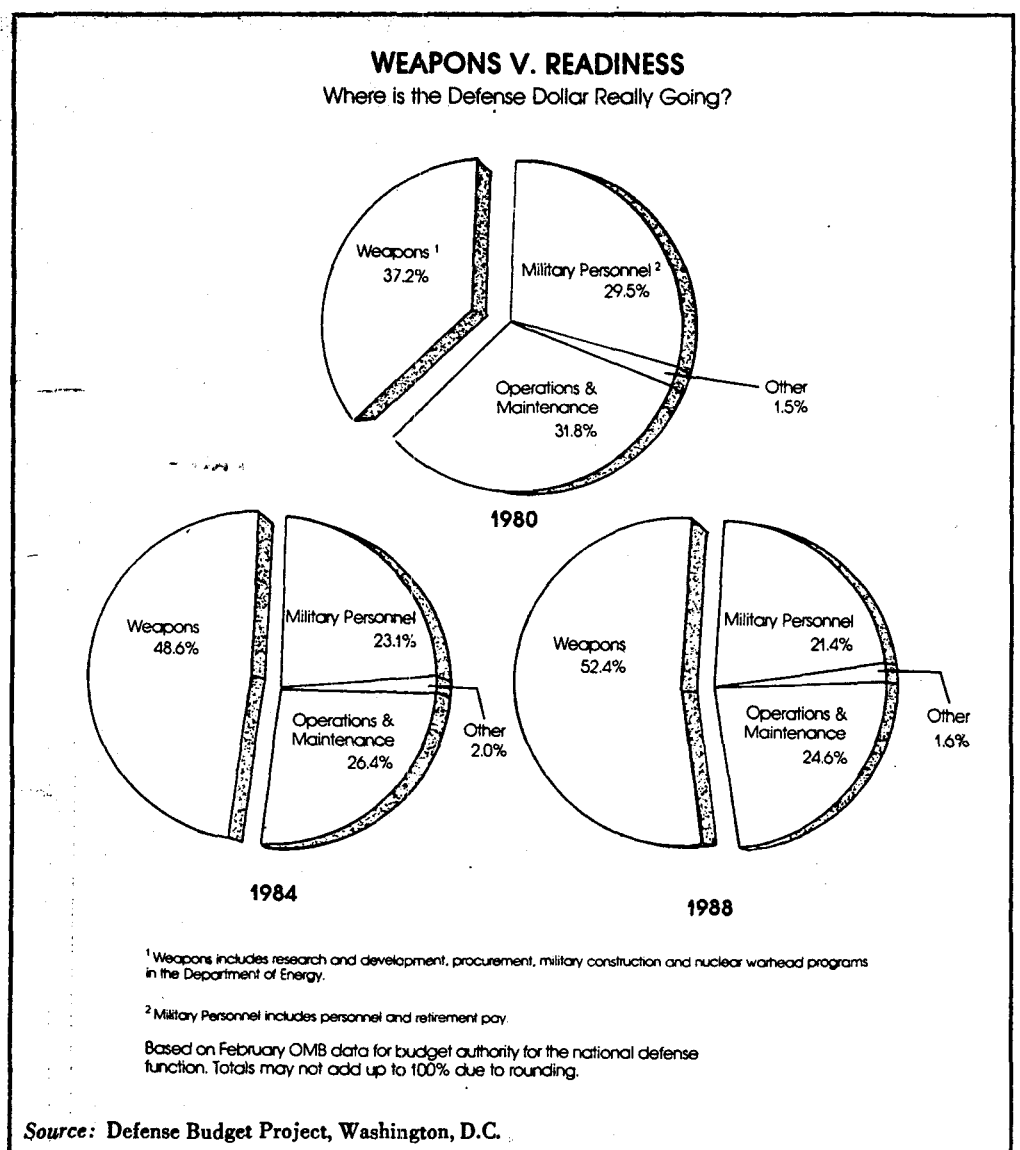
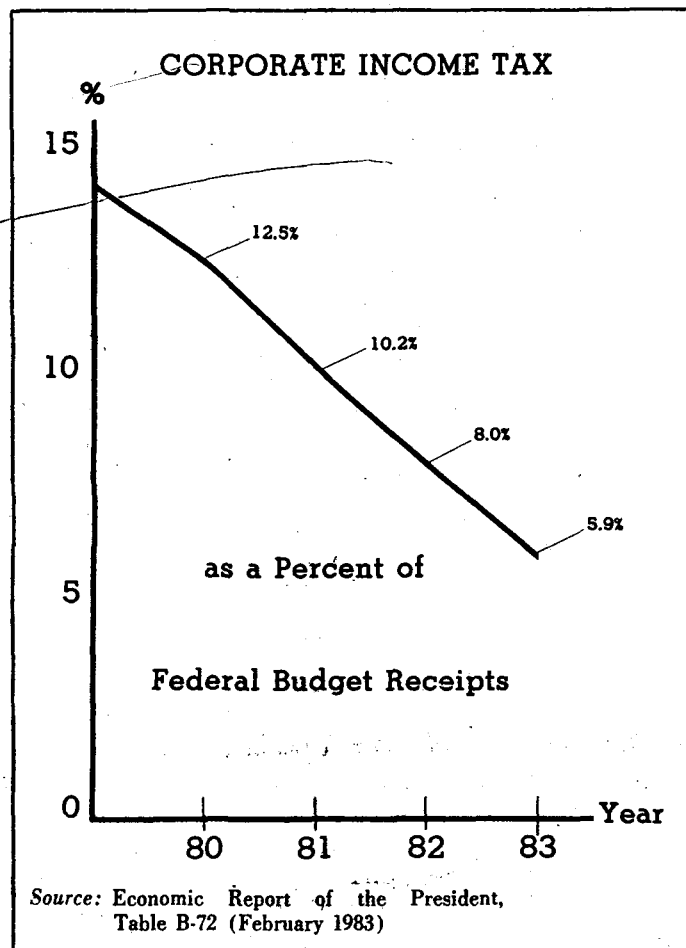
o President Reagan himself has never endorsed U.S. participation in any nuclear arms control agreement.

o The President's START proposal would allow the United States to continue its entire planned qualitative nuclear arms buildup.

o The START proposal would also allow the Soviets to pursue the whole range of their own planned "force modernization."

o Since 1963 all President's, Democrats and Republicans alike, have pursued a comprehensive test ban treaty which would prohibit all explosive nuclear weapons testing. President Reagan has withdrawn the United States from these negotiations.

o Instead of taking steps to prevent, through negotiation, the U.S.-Soviet arms competition from spreading into outer space, Reagan has proposed escalating the arms race into space.



The military budget

The Administration has made its military spending program the central element of its foreign policy. This is unfortunate, as the President's military spending plans are seriously flawed, and threaten to weaken the defense posture of the country while wasting national resources to an unprecedented degree.

o Since FY 1980 the U.S. military budget has grown nearly 100 percent in current dollars.

o Between 1984 and 1988, the President's proposed military spending plans call for \$1.8 trillion, representing real growth of 87.5 percent since 1980, and constituting over \$20,000 per American household.

o Spending is being wasted on such dangerous weapons as the MX missile, when the Air Force itself estimates that only 3 to 5 percent of these missiles would survive a Soviet first strike.

o Analysts from sources as diverse as the Brookings Institution, the Heritage Foundation, and the Pentagon itself all agree that weapons costs are routinely underestimated and that the entire military budget may face serious "underfunding" over the next five years if the full Reagan procurement program is enacted.

o As one example of wasteful spending, the Air Force was discovered to be paying \$1,118.26 each for plastic caps which fit on the bottom of stool legs aboard the AWACS aircraft. The cost of the plastic used in these simple caps was estimated to be 26 cents.

CENTRAL AMERICA

The Administration's policy in Central America is based on the simplistic assumptions that the world is a scene of constant struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union, and that military regimes are inherently stable in undeveloped countries. The Administration refuses to recognize that economic failure and political repression, not Cuba and the Soviet Union, are the causes of rebellion in Central America. The President also betrays a willingness to support repressive authoritarian governments which deny human rights and political and economic freedoms.

o If Congress approves the President's full FY 1984 aid request for El Salvador, over \$1 billion in U.S. aid will have been sent to El Salvador during the Reagan Administration. Some 67 percent of this aid has been military and security assistance.

o In order to send this aid to El Salvador, President Reagan must certify to Congress that the Salvadoran government is improving its human rights record. Despite overwhelming evidence of unabated abuses, Reagan has made four such certifications.

o In an effort to avoid embarrassing their government, the President has denied Salvadoran refugees temporary asylum from the political terror in El Salvador.

o The Administration has funded, through the CIA, an illegal covert military operation against the sovereign government of Nicaragua from bases in Honduras.

o The President has refused a Nicaraguan offer to conduct joint Nicaraguan-Honduran border patrols to monitor alleged arms traffic to the Salvadorn rebels.

HUMAN RESOURCES CUTS

Outlay Changes in Fiscal Years 1982-1985 For Selected Programs

	in billions of dollars	as percent of program outlays
HEALTH AND WELFARE		
AFDC	- 4.8	-13
Low Income Energy Assistance	- 0.7	- 8
Housing Assistance	- 1.8	- 4
Medicare	-13.2	- 5
Medicaid	- 3.9	- 5
Other Health Services	- 1.4	-22
TOTAL	-25.8	
NUTRITION		
Food Stamps	- 7.0	-13
Child Nutrition	- 5.2	-28
Women, Infants, Children (WIC)	+ 0.2	+ 4
TOTAL	-12.0	
EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SERVICES		
Compensatory Education	- 2.6	-17
Vocational Education	- 0.6	-12
Guaranteed Student Loans	- 3.8	-27
Community Services Block Grant	- 1.0	-39
Social Services Block Grant	- 2.9	-22
Other Student Financial Assistance	- 2.1	-13
TOTAL	-13.0	

Source:
Congressional Budget Office, August 1983





SAM SMITH

Not content to give away most of downtown and those parts of SW he can get his hands on, Mayor Barry was reported last month to be cooking up a deal with Jack Kent Cooke that would give Cooke operating control of RFK Stadium for \$500,000 a year, some additional skyboxes and seats and a promise to try to bring major league baseball to Washington. A congressional official involved in the legislation transferring control of the stadium to the city said it was not intended to permit such a scheme.

The frustrating thing about such sweetheart deals is that the only explanation for them other than the worst sort of political machination is one even more frightening -- that the city actually thinks it's getting a good bargain. Based on its willingness to let developers take over the city at distress sale prices, there is some evidence that Barry really thinks he put Cooke to the wall. The problem has gotten so serious that it occurs to me that we should approach these matters in a totally different way. The city could obtain the services of a top-flight real estate broker to represent it in negotiations in return for the standard commission. The agent for Gallery Place, say, would make a mint to be sure, but the city might come out millions to the good as well.

The Washington Home, a long-time nursing home in NW, is planning to tear down its present structure and replace it with a new one. No changes in zoning or population density have been proposed.

The new owners -- yet again -- of McLean Gardens have submitted their proposed plan for the long-controversial 9.4 acre site. The plan calls for somewhat fewer residential units, the same amount of commercial space and only one highrise on Wisconsin Avenue, instead of the four in the previous plan.

Dupont Circle citizen groups won a major battle recently when the Zoning Commission rejected a plan by the Brookings Institution to build more office space in the 1700 block of P Street. Among the complaints were that the plan represented a further intrusion of offices into residential areas off of Mass. Ave.

The Intowner, that most eccentric of local alternative papers -- yes, even beating out the Gazette, has a new editor. P.L. Wolff. In his first few issues Wolff has shown a lively interest in local development issues and although I'll miss John Schulter's annotated crime reports, the paper should prove valuable to citizens in the Adams Morgan, Dupont Circle and Logan Circle area. Of course, I'm prejudiced by the fact that Wolff says things like: "Something is wrong when the editor of this paper, although able to purchase a vacuum cleaner at Woodies downtown, is not able to obtain a replacement brush for it because they don't deal in little things like that. Asked where such things can be found, about the best Woodies can do is replay with a litany of place names around the Beltway." Gazette readers will recognize the compatibility with this journal's basic thesis about downtown -- namely that it never died; it just got evicted. Today it's alive and well in Wheaton.

Despite a court contempt citation, the Barry administration's lethargy over the scandalous conditions at the DC Jail is still not getting the attention it deserves. A New York City psychiatrist who toured the jail's psychiatric facilities, said last month that they do not "even come close to complying with standards" for jails set by the American Correctional Association. And a staff doctor for the Cook County jail in Chicago reported that "inmates will spend days, or more often weeks, in pain before seeing a doctor." The doctors testified in a case before Judge William Bryant in which the ACLU is trying to bring relief to the prison which has fifty percent more prisoners than its intended capacity. The ACLU wants the judge to reduce the population to capacity, ban the use of nonliving areas for keeping prisoners and assure that prisoners are out of their cells for at least 12 hours a day. Bryant has already fined Mayor Barry and two corrections aides \$50,000 for violating his previous orders to relieve overcrowding.

To everyone's surprise, the White House has asked Congress to pass a bill that would require that Congress positively approve any changes in the local criminal code rather than, as at present, permit it to veto such legislation. The move is perhaps the most serious attempt to retreat on home rule made by the federal government since the home rule charter was approved. Since a measure to liberalize slightly Congress's power over DC was wending its way through Capitol Hill, the White House move surprised not only DC politicians but members of Congress as well. The effect of the development will probably be to delay passage of the pending liberalization legislation.

Two important initiatives have been cleared for circulation and signature. One would make it city policy to provide shelter for the homeless who request it. The other prohibit police checkpoint searches without a warrant.

The assumption around town has been that as many as 40% of the city's drivers carried no insurance. But the city mailed out 250,000 no-fault insurance certification [Please turn to page 30]

REPORT CARD

In an effort to make our report card reflect especially important votes as well as activity level, we have gone back and recalculated our grading based on a numerical rather than a percentage basis. It didn't make a lot of difference so far this year because we only listed one double-credit vote: the one on cancelling the 1983 elections. Including the item listed below, here are the current grades for the mayor and city council:

GRADE	NAME	POINTS
A	MASON	12
A	KANE	9
C	SHACKLETON	5
D	CLARKE	2
D	SMITH	1
D	WINTER	1
F	MOORE	-1
F	WILSON	-1
F	RAY	-1
F	CRAWFORD	-1
F	JARVIS	-7
F	BARRY	-14

The report card is based on our current information as to positions taken by the mayor and city council on various issues. Additions or corrections can be sent or called to the Gazette.

Supported delay in vote on adoption of the comprehensive plan

BA CL CR JA MA MO RA RO SH SM SP WI WIN

+ + + + +

**FREE
PARKING**

Volunteers needed for Environmental Group! The Center for Environmental Education needs volunteers to help answer letters and respond to information requests for the annual International Day of the Seal event. Requests are already coming in! Hours 9-5:30, Monday through Friday from now to mid-March. Friendly atmosphere. For more information please call Twig George or Linda Maraniss, 737-3600.

Sharett F. Chase has assembled a packet on starting your own wind utility corporation. Chase says that with the proper location a windmill can be a very good investment. His packet, which deals specifically with New York state, is available for \$4.50 from him at Box 193, Shokan, New York 12481.

An internationally acclaimed women's dance troupe has started a 25-city tour in a fund-raising effort for the people of El Salvador. The Wallflower Order has teamed up with Grupo Raiz a Chilean musical ensemble, for the tour. Info: Wallflower Order, Po Box 3549, Berkeley, CA 94703.

Housing for Single-Parent Families.

Jointly prepared by New Jersey Department of Community Affairs and the League of Women Voters of Bergen County, N.J. Distributed May 1983.

A handy booklet drawing on material from a 1981 workshop on the subject. While much of the data is local, the ideas and issues have broader application. There are sections on special needs of single-parent families; legal issues in shared housing and exclusive zoning; description of limited equity co-ops and emergency housing; an appendix with detailed information on 10 "working model" single-parent programs; and an extensive bibliography. 23 pages.

Contact: Mary Lou Pettit, Housing Director, LWV of N.J., 270 Woodland Avenue, Ramsey, N.J. 07446. (201) 327-1390.

Thanks to SANE and the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy for some of the information in this section.

In British Prisons, prison activists Mike Fitzgerald and Joe Sim describe the British prison crisis along with an overview of the British prison system. They warn that "we must always be aware of the contradictory nature of reform, and struggle to ensure that changes which do occur do not covertly extend the massive apparatus of repressive control" which characterizes contemporary prisons. In Probation Work: Critical Theory and Socialist Practice, British probation officers Hilary Walker and Bill Beaumont draw on their work experience to critically assess the limitations and potential for progressive practice in the role of probation officer. Both books are available, for \$7.95 and \$9.95 respectively, from Basil Blackwell, c/o Biblio Distribution Centre, 81 Adams Drive, Totowa, NJ 07512.

The new 1983 edition of the Progressive Periodicals Directories have recently been published, providing up-to-date information on some 500 progressive periodicals from across the US. The US edition lists 380 national magazines, newspaper and newsletters. The Southern Periodicals Directory is a compilation of 130 periodicals operating in the south. The US directory is \$4 and the southern edition is \$2. Together they are \$5 postpaid. Progressive Education, Box 120574, Nashville, Tenn. 37212.

Legal Issues of Female Inmates: A Report (May 1982), by Katherine Gabel, Dean, Smith College School for Social Work and the research team of Kathleen Engel (past NMPC/DC intern), Bertha Josephson, Erika Kates, Angelika Robertson and Judith Schenck, has been published under a grant from the National Institute of Corrections. The report summarizes the results of a one-year exploratory research project addressing the central question: Why are women prisoners less litigious than men? Women in Prison Legal Project, Smith College School for Social Work, Northampton, MA 01063 for \$6.

Several good organizing resources have recently been published: The Little Red Jail Book: A Citizen's Jail Action Manual, prepared for the Executive Committee of the American Friends Service Committee's Northern California Regional Office, available for \$3.50 from the AFSC Bookstore, 2160 Lake St., San Francisco, CA 94121; Community Organizing: Theory and Practice by Douglas P. Biklen available from Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, NJ 07632 for \$22.95; Organizing for Community Action by Steve Burghardt, available from Sage Publications, Inc., 275 S. Beverly Dr., Beverly Hills, CA 90212

How to Start a Co-op, by Phil Dodge. Undated

A very simple, brief, and readable source on the basics of co-op principles, whether for food, housing, day care, or credit unions. Designed specifically for neighborhood use as a starting point in learning about co-ops.

Sections cover: Working together, role of sponsor, finding a common need, forming a core group, planning a program, getting members, goal-setting, the Co-op Bank, sources of help. References. 20 pages. Per copy (postpaid): \$2.75 for one; \$2.50 ea. for 5-9 copies; \$2.00 ea. for 10-15 copies; \$1.75 ea. for 20 or more.

Contact: Phil Dodge, Box 8234, Northfield, IL. 60093. (312) 446-1607. Include check with order.

SANE (Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy) the 25-year-old Peace/Disarmament organization is expanding and we are currently seeking interested volunteers to perform various activities from the office at 711 G St., S.E. Work involves grass roots lobbying phone calls, helping to organize special events and office tasks. Contact the volunteer coordinator, 546-7100.

Memo to public interest groups & progressive organizations

- Are we on your mailing list for your newsletter? News releases? Please check.
- We are interested in short articles on work in progress, projects and analyses of current events.
- We would also welcome copies of policy papers and testimony.
- We will be happy to run without charge information on the resources you provide, requests for assistance, or help wanted ads. First priority, however, will go to those who type them for us. We prefer 3" or 6" margins.
- Let us know about important staff changes.

The DC Gazette covers progressive politics and social action. Make sure you are part of the story.

THE DC GAZETTE
1739 Conn. Ave. NW
DC 20009
202-232-5544

Guide to Audio-Visual Resources on Disarmament

...to children to businessmen to labor unions to housewives. SANE has had an opportunity to preview many of these fine new resources and offers here a smattering of our favorites.

Films

Americas in Transition. Excellent documentary, narrated by Ed Asner, on the history of U.S. intervention in Central America. Makes effective use of archival footage. 30 minutes, color, 16 mm. \$50 rental (\$25 for SANE chapters only). Available from SANE.

How Much Is Enough? Decision Making in the Nuclear Age. Fascinating history of the nuclear arms race with interviews of key players, including Gen. Maxwell Taylor, Herbert York, William Perry and Paul Nitze. Detailed and clear explanations of the fallacious "missile gaps," told by former administration officials recounting their own stories. Produced, written and reported by Emmy-Award winner Andrew Stern. Good for people who prefer hard-nosed journalistic approach to the issues. Highly recommend. 16 mm, color, 58 minutes. \$85 rental, available from: Public Media, Inc., 119 W. 57th St., Suite 1511, New York, NY 10019, 212-247-8050.

In Our Defense. Highlights ill effects of military spending on the economy, as well as brief summary of arms race issues. Outrageous quotes from hawks (including Gen. Daniel Graham's famous "Just hide behind a lilac bush" method of civil defense) and good statements from pro-disarmament types, including SANE Co-Chair and Machinists President William Winpisinger. Interesting and well-done. Producer for this one anxious to get TV play. 16 mm, color, 26 minutes. Rental: \$65. Available from: Public Media, Inc., 119 W. 57th St., Suite 1511, New York, NY 10019, 212-247-8050.

Nuclear War: Guide to Armageddon. Produced by the British Broadcasting Corp. Excellent film using two couples as volunteers who actually carry out the government's civil defense instructions in a mock nuclear attack. Great tool for any program on civil defense or effects of nuclear war—especially if a Federal Emergency Management Agency rep will be on hand to defend the government's civil defense policies. 16 mm, 25 minutes, color. Rental: \$50 (\$25 for SANE chapters only). Available from SANE.

War Without Winners II. The Center for Defense Information's popular film on the arms race has recently been updated. Top quality. Features footage of "on-the-street" interviews with Soviet and Ameri-



can citizens, as well as views of top experts. 27 minutes, 16 mm, color. Rental: \$50. Available from Films Inc., 733 Green Bay Rd., Wilmette, IL 60091, 800-323-4222. CDI is also anxious to get this on the air.

Slide Shows

The Race Nobody Wins. SANE's 17-minute slide show on the arms race, narrated by Tony Randall. Concise overview, including links between military spending and economic conversion. \$10 rental, \$45 purchase. 1981. Available from SANE.

Central America: Roots of the Crisis. Good overview, country-by-country, of current situation in Central America, including brief history. 25 minutes. Cassette tape with music background. Rental: \$15, Purchase: \$60. Available from Latin America Pro., American Friends Service Comm., 1501 Cherry St., Phil. PA 19102, 215-241-7159.

\$825/rental: \$75. Contact: Villon Films, P.O. Box 14144, Seattle, WA 98144, 206-323-8610.

The Nuclear Hotline. Call toll-free to order your Nuclear War Prevention Manual, the detailed guide to nuclear war and everything you can do to stop it. Made possible by the Campaign Against Nuclear War and its affiliated organizations. (Coalition's affiliated.) 800-528-6050, ext. 89.

Nuclear War Manual for Dogs. An amusing, provocative transcription of straight talk from a street-wise canine to concerned dogs everywhere. 20 pp. Contact: Zoo Press, 805 Homestead Street, Baltimore, MD 21218. \$2.25.

The new Co-Op America Holiday Catalog is available for distribution. The catalog contains products and services from Co-Op America organizational members including Central American crafts, Nicaraguan coffee, books, music, calendars, maple syrup, toys, games, and household items. Information packets on health insurance, co-op and community organizing materials and social investment funds are also included. People needn't be Co-op America members to order from the catalog, although a small service charge is made. To receive a free catalog call toll-free 1-800-424-9711.

Videotapes

Briefings on Peace and the Economy. New from SANE. 4 lectures, 55 minutes each, by Seymour Melman, SANE Co-Chair and Professor of Industrial Engineering at Columbia University. Topics: 1) The Military Industry Firm; 2) The Permanent War Economy; 3) Conversion from a Military to a Civilian Economy; and 4) On Reversing the Arms Race. Produced by the National Council of Churches. Unique presentations on the economics of the arms race. Ideal for classroom or conferences or for local groups to use as an educational tool.

Available in all video formats: ¾", ½" VHS; and ½" Beta. \$60/cassette (1 briefing per cassette) or \$200 for all four. Entire set also available on two 120-minute tapes (VHS or Beta, ½") for \$120. Distributed by SANE.

Note: Many new films are available in video. Inquire of distributor.

Audio Cassettes

SANE's own nationally-syndicated radio program, *Consider the Alternatives*, has top quality ½-hour audio cassettes on a wide range of topics. Recent programs on Central America include:

#549 **Reagan Draws the Line.** A debate between U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua Anthony Quainton and Dr. Wayne Smith, former head of the U.S. Interest Section in Havana who resigned in protest. Also Sister Mary Hartman, a St. Agnes nun stationed in Managua.

#553-554 **Nicaragua: A Reporter's Notebook.** CTA host Bob Musil's two-part documentary on his recent tour of Nicaragua and Honduras with North American and European peace leaders, including a first hand look at Jalapa, a border town under attack by U.S.-supported counterrevolutionaries.

#568 **The Face of El Salvador.** A fascinating in-depth interview with Dr. Charles Clements recently returned from working over a year inside the rebel-held zones of El Salvador.

Order cassettes by program number. \$7 each or all four for \$24. CASSETTES AVAILABLE ONLY FROM OUR PHILADELPHIA OFFICE. To order tapes or for a full list of available cassettes, contact: Consider the Alternatives, 5808 Greene St., Philadelphia, PA 19144, 215-848-4100.

Human Rights and United States Policy in Central America. Excellent transcript of a January 13, 1983, Stanford University symposium. Speeches, remarks, and questions and answers of major U.S. human rights advocates, academics and Reagan administration officials and spokespeople. Booklet available for \$2.95/each or \$2.50 for 10 or more copies. Order from: Stanford Central America Action Network, P.O. Box 2231, Stanford, CA 94305.

Arms Control Computer Network ready for action soon. The Coalition has been working with a number of national organizations to establish the Arms Control Computer Network (ACCN), a coordinated telecommunications system that will merge each group's activist list into a single movement-wide network. Computer terminals were placed in the offices of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, the Council for a Livable World, and Friends of the Earth last month, with the central processing unit and four terminals to be installed in the SANE office any day now. Physicians for Social Responsibility and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign have also recently signed on as ACCN participants.

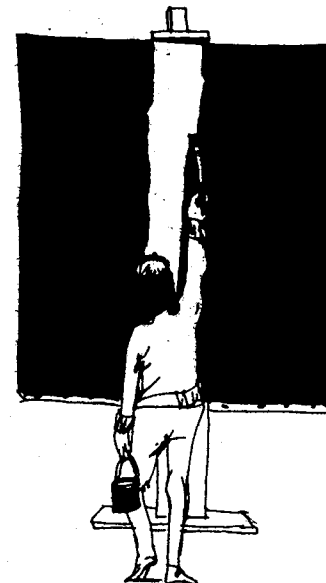
Peace Groups in England want to communicate with like-minded groups in the U.S. By corresponding with each other, exchanging newsletters, etc., groups on both sides of the Atlantic can lend hope and encouragement to each other in our work for peace. If your group would like to participate, write: Jim Webster, 2170 N. Blackhawk Road, Galena, IL 61036. You will hear from an English group within a few weeks.

Speakers' Bureau. New Fellowship of Reconciliation Speakers' Bureau features 129 women and men from 43 states and Canada. Covers wide range of justice and peace topics. For free brochure, contact: FOR, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960, 914-358-4601.

Southern Africa Project Annual Report. "1982: Tighter Restrictions, Continued Repression." Contact: Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, 733 15th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005.

South Africa—The Nuclear File. Documents how the U.S. and West Germany aided South Africa in its illicit acquisition of nuclear capability. Reagan administration policies make this film more relevant every day. By Peter Davis, 54 min., 16 mm. Sale:

BUSINESS SPIN-OFFS: A MANUAL FOR NOT-FOR-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS. A guide that tells how to set up a for-profit organization without endangering non-profit status. \$12.00 from the Center for Urban Economic Development at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, Box 4348, Chicago, Ill. 60680.



THE GAZETTE BOOKSHELF

THE PORTABLE HAWTHORNE: 'The Scarlet Letter' complete; selections from 'The House of Seven Gables,' 'The Blitheside Romance,' 'The Marble Faun,' and thirteen tales. Also selections from notebooks and letters. \$6.95

THE PORTABLE MILTON: 'Paradise Lost,' 'Paradise Regained,' and 'Samson Agonistes' complete. Selection of poems and prose works. \$6.95

REFERENCE

POCKET ENGLISH-HEBREW, HEBREW-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. Over 30,000 vocabulary entries. \$3.95

HOW NOT TO LOSE AT POKER: Invaluable advice as well as probabilities for different hands. \$3

BEGINNERS GUIDE TO WINNING CHESS. Chess expert Fred Reinfeld explains how to do it. \$3

FIX IT FAST COOKBOOK: 270 recipes you can bring to the table in minutes. \$4.95

HUGH JOHNSON'S POCKET ENYCLOPEDIA OF WINE. This guide, which you can peruse discreetly in the liquor store, list the wines of 18 countries complete with data on taste and vintage plus a rating. Also included is a quick reference chart for wines from France and Germany. \$5.95

JOY OF COOKING: Revised and enlarged with over 4300 recipes. America's best-loved cookbook for more than a quarter of a century. \$7.95

THE PORTABLE THOMAS HARDY: "The Mayor of Casterbridge" complete; seven tales of Wessex; more than 100 poems; excerpts from the epic verse drama "The Dynasts;" nonfictional prose, including prefaces, essays, letters and comments on life and the arts from his notebooks and journals. \$6.95.

THE HOBBIT: The adventure fantasy that begins the tale of the hobbits that was continued by J.R.R. Tolkien in The Lord of the Rings. \$2.50

BURY MY HEART AT WOUNDED KNEE. Dee Brown's eloquent account of the systematic destruction of the American Indians during the second half of the nineteenth century. "A painful, shocking book." — Book World. \$3.95

THE PORTABLE TOLSTOY: Includes "The Kreutzer Sonata," passages from his childhood, youth and military life, Episodes from "The Cossaks," long and short stories, the play "The Power of Darkness," philosophic, religious, social and critical writings, chronology, bibliography. \$6.95

THE PORTABLE MELVILLE: "Typee" and "Billy Budd" complete, portions of four other novels, stories, travel journals, letters, poems and other writings. \$6.95

FOR CHILDREN

THE TALE OF PETER RABBIT: \$1.25

JAMES AND THE GIANT PEACH: \$2.75

GOODNIGHT MOON \$3.50

RICHARD SCARRY'S FUNNIEST STORYBOOK EVER; \$4.95

MADELEINE: \$3.50

THE GIVING TREE: \$4.50

CHARLOTTE'S WEB: \$4.50

ROBERT FROST'S POEMS: An anthology accompanied by an introduction and commentary by Louis Untermeyer \$3.95.

THE PORTABLE THOMAS JEFFERSON: Includes "A Summary View of the Rights of British America" and "Notes on the State of Virginia." Also the Declaration of Independence, draft constitution for Virginia, opinion on the constitutionality of a national bank, first inaugural address and letters to George Washington, James Madison, John Adams, John Jay and others. \$6.95.

THE BIG SLEEP: Raymond Chandler's famous story about detective Philip Marlowe, who finds himself hired by an eccentric, paralyzed California millionaire in a case of blackmail, but gets involved in something even more ugly. \$2.95

THE PORTABLE WALT WHITMAN: Selections from "Leaves of Grass," "Democratic Vistas," "Specimen Days." Chronology and bibliographical checklist by Gay Wilson Allen. The New Yorker calls it "the best and most representative one-volume edition of Whitman ever put together." \$6.95

THE PORTABLE JUNG: In making this selection from the vast body of Carl Jung's writings, Joseph Campbell has aimed to introduce the elementary terms and themes of analytical psychology, provide and overall understanding of the scope and direction of Jung's works and enable readers to grasp the bearing of mythic lore upon their own psyches. \$6.95.

THE OLD MAN AND THE SEA: Ernest Hemingway's tragic yet triumphant story of an old Cuban fisherman and his supreme ordeal -- a relentless, agonizing battle with a giant marlin out in the Gulf Stream. \$2.50

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IT'S THEIR OWN FAULT

William O. Beeman

Today, poverty in the United States has reached a level not seen for two decades. Over 34 million Americans now live below the poverty level.

Nearly 2.5 million of them, the so-called "New Poor," are victims of the recession of the past two years. This is clear testimony to the fact that forces beyond

the control of individuals are often the root cause of poverty.

Yet recent research indicates that Americans still believe the poor bear personal responsibility for their condition -- a belief which may itself be the chief obstacle to a reasonable public policy.

Many basic American beliefs about poverty have persisted since the earliest days of the Republic:

-- Poverty is the result of individual effort or lack of it, rather than a result of social and economic forces.

-- The "deserving" poor -- those who cannot work -- are contrasted with the "undeserving" poor -- those who can work.

-- "Unemployment" is considered a temporary effect of outside forces, while poverty is seen as a permanent condition.

These ideas were challenged only once in the 20th century -- by the depression of the 1930s. Then, "White people who never drank or cursed woke up and found themselves suddenly poor," says John E. Hansan, executive director of the National Assn. of Social Workers.

This led to broad recognition that poverty does have structural causes, which, in turn, led to the establishment of Social Security and other basic support programs -- still the principal and most effective sources of relief for the poor today.

But that depression insight was lost in World War II when suddenly there were jobs for everyone. Today, the old attitudes seem fully re-established.

"We still blame poverty on things like laziness and lack of ambition," claims Beth B. Hess, a sociologist at Morris County College in New Jersey who has been looking at new patterns of poverty.

Surveys show that only a very small percentage of the population considers poverty a "social problem of overriding importance," but people clearly have a different view of unemployment. Morris suggests this distinction "relates again to basic American cultural beliefs. Implicit in the duty to work proclaimed by the Protestant Ethic is the obligation of society to provide work."

This obligation was formally recognized by the government in "full employment" bills in 1946 and again in 1978. No such

legislation has ever been passed with respect to poverty. Thus when we see able-bodied citizens who cannot find work, "There is the tendency to assume that it is the system which is at fault."

The public has also insulated itself by viewing the effects of the recession as localized, according to NASW director Hansan.

"Basically it is seen as a temporary aberration in the economy or a problem limited to Detroit or Pittsburgh."

The truth, however, is that many of those currently unemployed will never be able to return to their jobs in heavy industry. The downturn has given management the chance to retool factories in a way which will permanently replace the bulk of workers now jobless.

The great resistance to acknowledging this fact prevents effective action to help the industrially displaced. "Houston's attitude" the University of Texas' Feigin claims, "is to give them a bag of groceries and tell them to dig ditches."

Finally, as Beth Hess points out, white able-bodied males are only a small portion of the poor in America today. "Women are almost twice as likely to fall below the poverty level."

Such women were once mostly the wives of impoverished men. Today, Hess' study reveals, they are more likely to head a household, or be part of a non-family household. And over half of these poor, unrelated women are also over 65 -- mostly low- or non-wage earners, who survived their husbands and must now somehow live on Social Security widow's benefits, only half the already low social security support.

These widowed elderly women constitute a classic example of structural poverty. They are likely to be joined soon by permanently displaced white males. Combatting such structurally induced poverty is expensive.

It may also be nearly impossible if public attitudes do not change.

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CHARLES McDOWELL

Farewell to the ketchup bottle

WASHINGTON — The H.J. Heinz Co. has announced a new ketchup bottle. First in Texas, later in the less-ketchupy states, the company will offer tomato ketchup in plastic squirt-bottles.

The plastic "will enhance squeezability," a spokeswoman for the company said on the radio. What she was trying to say, it turned out, was that ketchup can be dispensed more easily from a plastic container than from the traditional glass bottle.

No doubt. Still, there is something melancholy about this latest bulletin from the high-tech front. Ketchup in the familiar bottle, heavy and obdurate, is a fundamental cultural object in America.

★ ★ ★

The ketchup bottle on the table tells us who we are.

The feel of it — in the hand that holds it, on the heel of the hand that strikes it — blends time and place and station in the American experience.

The ketchup bottle's enduring reluctance to yield ketchup is a constant in life, a shared national frustration.

It is also a perverse reassurance that somehow the world is still the one we have known since childhood.

Hitting and cursing ketchup bottles has worked off more sublimated anger over the years than fist fights or Senate debates.

And there is humor in it — the saving sense of the preposterous when a mighty human being cannot master the simple problem of putting goo on his hamburger, and then when it spurts forth onto the carrots, the tablecloth, even the dinner partner.

Most people are not put off when you spurt ketchup on the tablecloth, nor really angry if you spurt it on them. They understand at least this part of the human dilemma.

The ketchup bottle is the symbol that divides the two great classes of American eating places — those where the ketchup is on the table, and those where you have to ask for it.

I always know I am over my head, treading water in the pretentious, when somebody brings the ketchup in a little dish.

Ketchup loses something in a dish.

[Richmond Times-Dispatch]

There is no glory without striving. And, anyway, some things should be like they were meant to be.

Heaven only knows what will happen to a country that squirts its ketchup out of a plastic syringe.

★ ★ ★

There was always ketchup in the house I grew up in, although there was a list of things one did not use it on. There were standards. But my earliest memories include a parent holding the ketchup in front of my nose, thumping the bottom of the bottle. Adults were better at it than children, but not much better.

When I was quite young, just getting old enough to thump the ketchup bottle for myself, Steve's Diner came to town. It came in tow, an old street car, and it was established on a foundation across the street from our back yard.

I hung out there a lot because Steve's family included Frank, my contemporary and friend. And there was Pete, older, the counter man. Frank and I were having hamburgers on the house one day, and Pete came over to me and said, "I will show you about the ketchup."

He took the bottle from me. I had been holding it upside down, bopping it on the bottom. Pete held the bottle 30 degrees from the horizontal in his right hand. He put his left hand under the neck of the bottle and, with an upward motion, tapped the neck of the bottle very gently with three fingers.

The ketchup flowed out of the bottle smoothly and in modest volume easily controlled. It was a miracle.

★ ★ ★

Since that day in Steve's Diner, I have been the master of the ketchup bottle. The system always works, unless the ketchup has been unwisely chilled too much. Then you have to tap longer.

I taught my parents and, later, my children. It is the only thing I ever taught both. Outside the family, I rarely made a point of demonstrating the miracle, saving it for crises of self-esteem.

So now take it if you will in the twilight of a tradition.

PEACE KEEPER MESSAGE

President Reagan said yesterday that US Ambassador Charles M. Lichtensetin "had the hearty approval of most people in America" when he suggested that the United States would not object if the United Nations decided to move its headquarters out of New York. I think the gentleman who spoke the other day had the hearty approval of most people in America in his suggestion that we weren't asking anyone to leave, but if they choose to leave, goodbye."

--WASHINGTON POST, Sept. 22

DIRTY TRICKS

Fred J. Solowey

She left.

I don't think they had anything to do with that, except perhaps they might have bombarded the apartment with strange microwaves.

We'll have to see what we can up with on that one with what's left of the Freedom of Information Act.

But there's no question that the Reagan administration, the corporate establishment and the New Right, who don't like the treatment they've been getting in the labor press, decided to do what they could -- as an experiment -- to keep a labor journalist dwelling on his broken heart.

Their campaign began even before she moved out. The first well-timed move was coordinated by the Chamber of Commerce and the Postal Service. The former arranged for the mailing from the florist in Atlantic City where I had been at an ASCME convention. The Post Office delivered it to me just as she was packing her bag. Don't forget her upcoming birthday, read the cheerful reminder. Labor Secretary Donovan himself must have thought of including the brochure of suggested floral arrangements. A nice touch.

Then the Federal Communications Commission joined in. They promised local radio stations total deregulation

BIOREGIONALISM

Kirkpatrick Sale

The idea that America is to be understood as a land of regions is as old as the first 17th-century settlements, but it was not until the late 19th century that those regions were seen as having a physiographic - or as we would say, an ecological - character. And though historians and sociologists as well as geographers and biologists continued to examine and develop the importance of regionalism in American life, it was not until the 1960's that the idea of the "bioregion" was first advanced and not until the 1970's that it began to take hold.

Today, just a decade later, bioregionalism represents what seems to me to be at once the most interesting ecological as well as promising political movement in the U.S.

There are, by my loose count, something like twenty bioregional organizations now at work, not including, perhaps, another forty or fifty regional groups and countless individuals with similar local and environmental (if not explicitly bioregional) concerns. They are located from coast to coast, from the Slocan Valley in British Columbia to the Rio Grande in Texas-Mexico, from the Sonoran Desert in Arizona to Cape Cod on the Atlantic, and in between include groups of Northern and Southern California, the Rockies, the High Plains of Wyoming, the Kansas River Watershed, the Ozarks, the Appalachias, the Hudson Valley, and Southern New England.

But just what -- after all -- is bioregionalism?

It would be nice if I could provide a quick, simple answer to that. But the fact is that at this point it is more an attitude than a construct, more a way of learning to think than an ideology. And the definitions, the precise terms of the vocabulary for the movement, have yet to be fully worked out -- are, indeed, being discussed and pondered regularly.

But in rawest terms, it is agreed that a bioregion is a geographical area whose rough boundaries are set by Nature, not Humankind, distinguishable from other areas by characteristics of flora, fauna, water, climate, rocks and soils, landforms, and the human settlements and culture those characteristics have given rise to. A watershed -- that is, the flows and valleys of a major river system -- may be seen as a bioregion; or a desert, or a forest; or something larger but still coherent, such as the Rockies, say, or the Great Plains, or the Appalachias.

Bioregionalism, then, is the understanding of the ecological realities that surround us and the attempt to work out economic and political systems that recognize them. David Haenke, one of the prime movers of the Ozark Area Community Congress or OACC (named for the region's totem tree), puts it this way:

"Bioregionalism deals with the bioregion as a whole system comprised of a set of diverse, integrated natural sub-systems (atmospheric, hydrologic, biologic, geologic) run by ecological laws with which humans (as one species among many) must work in cooperation if there is to be a substantial future.

These laws form the basis for the design of all long-term human systems, economic, technological, agricultural, and political. Political ecology is the politics of bioregionalism."

As Haenke suggests, when we begin thinking in bioregional terms, when we come to have a new appreciation for the importance of the ecology we live in, then many other perceptions follow.

We come to understand the forces Nature has laid down for us and learn to live -- to farm, to manufacture, to travel, to build -- within them instead of in violation of them.

We begin to see where our water really comes from, and our food and our energy and our products, and we can perceive in a new way how an ecosystem might be naturally, organically balanced -- and the awful dangers posed by our various disruptions of that balance.

We come to understand the natural carrying capacity of the region -- what it can produce and what its limits are -- and develop the bounties that can be had within them.

We start to appreciate the real costs of our present reckless disregard for bioregional realities -- the actual effects of soil erosion and water pollution, the social disruption of big utilities and suburban developments, the foolish waste and vassalage of our dependencies on imported foods and energy and other necessities.

And we finally comprehend that if there is to be salvation for this world, it will come through the development of these bioregions into fully empowered, politically autonomous, economically self-sufficient social units in which bioregional citizens understand, and control, the decisions that effect their lives.

Considering the enormities that imperil us now, the result of ignoring bioregional realities, it is hardly surprising that the bioregional movement has grown so far so fast. It may be, I have come to feel, our last chance.

This article is from the fall newsletter of the E.F. Schumacher Society, Box 76, RD 3, Great Barrington MA 01230. Kirkpatrick Sale is the author of 'Human Scale.' He is currently interested in establishing a Decentralist Center that would collect the papers and publish the works of Schumacher and other human scale philosophers. Those interested in this project can write Sale at 113 W. 11th St., NYC NY 10011.

and an end to all requirements for community service programming. All they asked for -- and got -- was the flooding of the airwaves with songs about breaking up. They even dug up one with a pointed "I love you but can't make a commitment until I find myself" theme.

Using the most sophisticated technology, they made sure it was being played every time I tuned in.

Next came the little yellow Hondas -- hundreds of them-- smuggled into the Washington area by the CIA. Now they are everywhere and the CIA computer routes them past me, no matter where I am. As they no doubt hoped, my heart thumps everytime one goes by and I think it's her at the wheel.

If I worked at a smaller or less anti-Reagan union they might have stopped there. But such as not the case.

The Moral Majority proceeded to put out a national call and import all of its medium height female divorcees, now all sporting short reddish hair. Even the ones with perfect vision are wearing glasses. They too are everywhere.

This is, as far as I know, the first Reagan administration elaborate dirty tricks campaign of this type, and they haven't gotten all the wrinkles worked out yet. They failed to put the redheads in the Hondas. And for obvious ideological reasons, they just couldn't get themselves to put anti-nuclear bumper stickers on the cars.

Knowing they hey had failed to maximize impact on their target, they came up with their coup de grace. For this final blow they mobilized HUD and one or more of those people who jammed the lines of the Democratic Party telethon.

First they located the vacancy in my apartment building and then placed a well-timed anonymous-tip phone call. As a result, an ex-flame I long since put behind me -- one who moved out several years ago -- will be back to haunt me. She'll be living on the third floor.

The dirty tricks admittedly are working to some extent, thought I'm sure they figured that I'd never find them out. Yet, like most dirty tricks, they do seem to be backfiring. For what's left for a lovelorn labor writer to do but to write even more anti-Reagan articles?

<<<<>>>>

[Fred J. Soloway is assistant editor of the Public Employee, newspaper of the one million member American Federation of State, Count and Municipal Employees.]



EUGENE McCARTHY

Keeping the Dragon

"The distinguishing mark of the Puritans", wrote Gilbert K. Chesterton, "is that they always kill St. George but keep the dragon."

Common Cause is the most active puritan, moral reform group now operating in American politics, having far outstripped Ralph Nader's group, which was brought low when it attempted to protect the American electorate by evaluating members of Congress. Common Cause does not go to the person but to conditions of election, organization of the Congress, and ethical codes self-imposed by office holders. Common Cause has also reduced the League of Women Voters to a supplemental role.

A PART OF Common Cause's appeal has been its simplified assertion that money is the root of political evil. If less money were spent in campaigns, or if the money spent came to the politician unaffected by any political purpose or program, pure, if not good, or representative, government would result.

In pursuit of this goal, along with other reformers Common Cause advocated reforms which were enacted in what has been known as the Campaign Reform Act of 1975-76, the principal provision of which was federal financing, in part, of national presidential elections. The two campaigns in which this financing has been used resulted in the election of Jimmy Carter in 1976 and of Ronald Reagan in 1980.

Although federal financing of Congressional campaigns was not included in the 1975-76 act, the act did put severe limitations on the amount any person, or organization of persons could contribute to a candidate or a party. As a part of this reform, corporate Political Action Committees (PACs) were legalized.

Now Common Cause is sounding the alarm of scandal. The 1982 election was financed by "rivers of PAC money." PACs gave upward of \$80 million to Senate and to House candidates.

COMMON CAUSE is now asking for money to fight the PAC influence, an influence in the case of PACs created and multiplied in power by the Reform Act of 1975-76, an act sponsored in large part, supported, and defended before the Supreme Court by Common Cause.

When the 1975 Act was passed, critics warned of the potential power of the PACs legalized by the law. Critics warned that the legislation was a built-in protection of the two-party system, of Republicans and Democrats; that it would give special advantages to persons with great personal wealth, should they choose to run for federal office; that it would give special advantages to incumbents; that it would not reduce campaign expenditures, or lead to better government.

Now Common Cause has discovered, what it calls a "scandal," and "an appalling revelation."

WHAT IS the scandal, what is the appalling revelation, Common Cause has discovered? The very things Common Cause was told would come about if the law of 1975 was passed.

That PACs would become a major, if not the major source of congressional campaign money; that incumbents, including the two established major parties, would be made more secure; that persons with great personal wealth would be given special advantages in politics; that the law would not reduce campaign expenditures; and not lead to better government.

To sustain its claim to special competence Common Cause claims that it mobilized public opinion to help end U.S. involvement in the war in Vietnam.

I DO NOT recall any Common Cause presence in the campaign of 1968, or at the Chicago Convention. Common Cause claims that it did the same to repeal the oil depletion tax loophole. Possibly it did, but Common Cause was not in the field in the years when efforts were made, some successful, to limit oil depletion, and direct the privilege so as to provide what was considered necessary energy.

In any case, Common Cause arrived on the scene, about the time of the energy shortage, when tremendous amounts of money were being appropriated to provide an adequate supply of fuel, for the country, from sources other than oil.

The special gifts of Common Cause, in addition to providing its own dragons, seemed to be to arrive on the political battlefield after the battle and shoot the wounded men.

THE GAZETTE GUIDE

Here are some of the progressive organizations and media with which you might want to make contact. Others will be listed in future issues. Please send any additions, corrections or deletions to the DC Gazette, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009.

Regional media

NEW ENGLAND

VALLEY WOMENS VOICE, c/o HCAC, PO Box 7, Northampton, MA 01061-0007
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 THE CURRENT, PO Box 656, Newburyport, MA 01910
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 NEW ROOTS, PO Box 548, Greenfield, MA. 01302
 NEW HAVEN ADVOCATE, 1184 Chapel St., New Haven Conn. 06511
 HARTFORD ADVOCATE, 470 Capitol St., Hartford Conn. 06106
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 METRO, 610 Mulberry St. Scranton, Pa. 18510
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 AQUARIAN WEEKLY, PO Box 137, Montclair, NJ 07042
 DELAWARE ALTERNATIVE PRESS, PO Box 4592, Newark DE
 INNER CITY LIGHT, 212 Forsyth St. NYC NY 10002
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 THE OBSERVER, PO Box 85, Bard College, Annandale, NY 12504

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 DC GAZETTE, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW DC 20009. 202-232-5544
 WASHINGTON TRIBUNE, PO Box 12055, DC 20005
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● On one newscast CBS radio actually referred to
the "pro-American" ex-prime minister Maurice
Bishop. It's not only the Reagan administration
that rewrites history.

● One of the more charming examples of the
president's inclination towards delusion and/or
deceit was the case of the Granadian warehouses.
The president at one point described the
warehouses as having "contained weapons and
ammunition stacked almost to the ceiling, enough
to supply thousands of terrorists." When
Washington Post reporter Loren Jenkins went to
check out the story, however, he found that three
of the six described warehouses contained no
weapons at all. The principal arms warehouse was,
in fact, only about a quarter full including some
modern Soviet-made equipment but many of the arms
"were antiquated, of little value to a modern
army or guerilla force." Included were some Marlin
30-30 saddle guns manufactured in 1870 of the
sort, said one corporal "that were used to fight
the Indians."

TOPICS

Sam Smith



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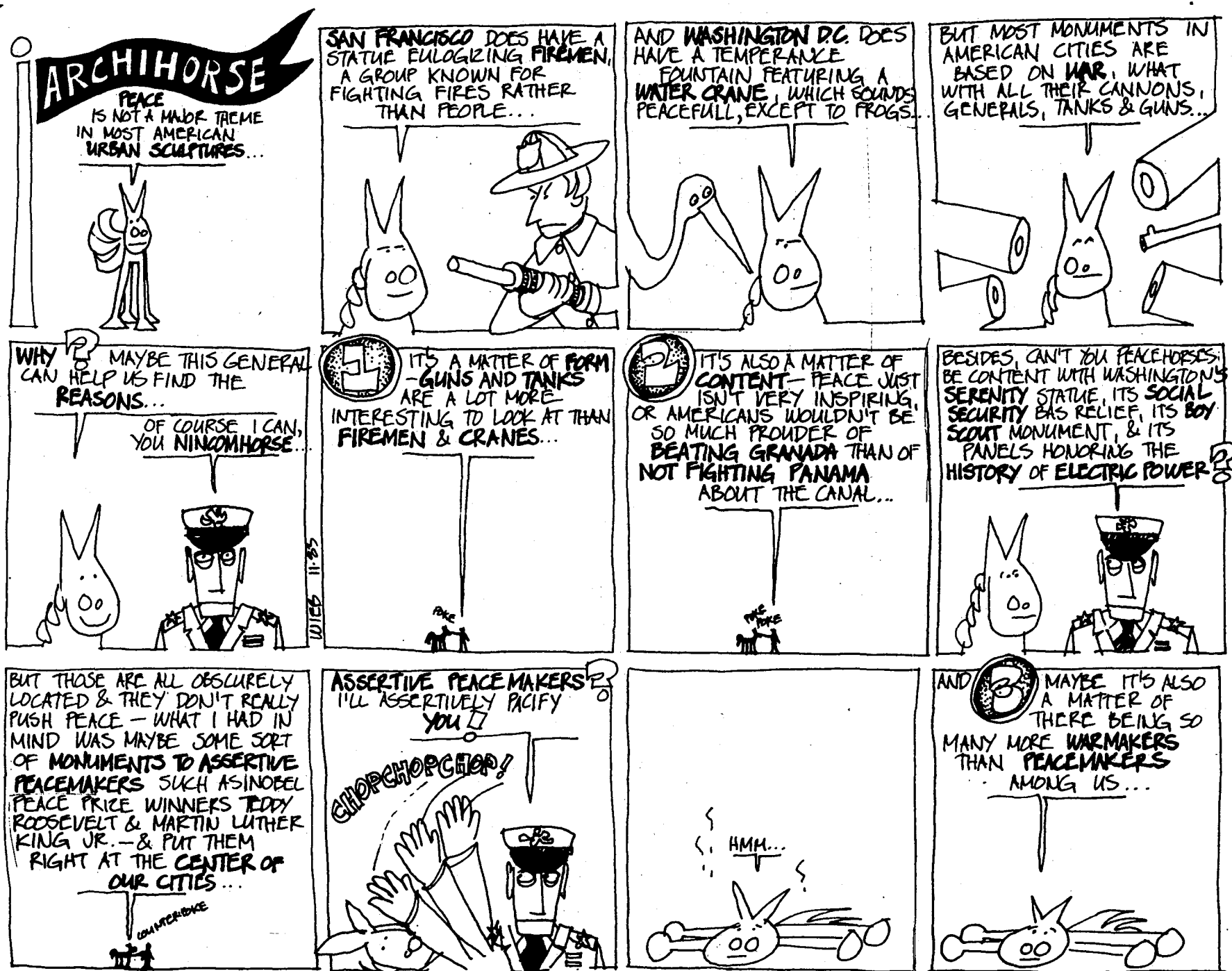
President Reagan has it wrong. He is not the movie cowboy, but the outlaw. The classic film cowboy wasn't some species of spurred-busbody, enforcing his moral and economic code on everyone he could lasso; he didn't hold a revolver to the head of the town doctor and force him to try to save some terribly malformed baby's life; he didn't spend his spare time organizing strike forces against the local drunks and prostitutes or interfering in the affairs of his neighbors. Most of all he didn't screw around with nature.

Rugged individual he may have been, but the rugged individualism of the early west involved an implicit SALT treaty amongst the rugged individuals; individualism, after all, requires that, for the most part, you let others be individuals, too. There were limits, to be sure, imposed by sheriffs and marshalls and, occasionally, mobs, but by today's standards the limits of the law were ultra-libertarian.

There were other limits as well. There were those of Indian tribes who did not appreciate Europeans practicing their individualism on Indian land. The Indians got mad, killed a lot of people, got killed themselves, made life uncomfortable and dangerous for the intruders. And, of course, nature imposed limits,

But then there were the limits imposed by an assortment of bandits, ruffians, villains and assorted outlaws who ranged from the highly articulate -- shall we call them great communicators?-- to the merely sodden and vicious. Their prime values, as they affected others, were the rampant disregard for the generally regarded law and consensus, the ignoring of such ethical considerations as honesty and humaneness and the willingness to sacrifice the independence of others in the interest of their own "rugged individualism."

Ronald Reagan benefits from the same romantic image of a defender of rugged individualism that has accorded



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By Sam Smith

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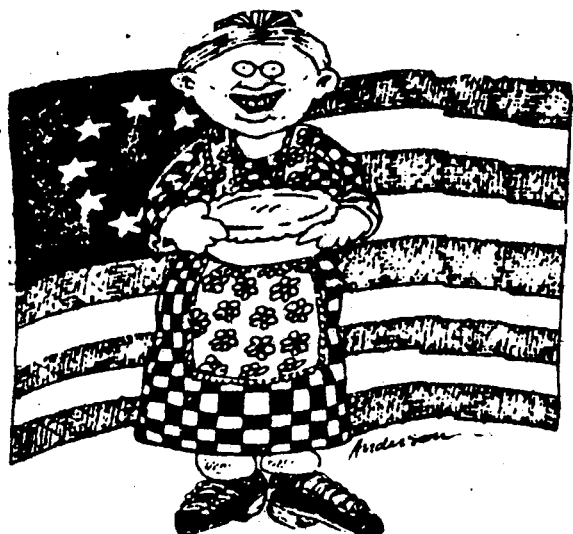
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Apple Pie

ABC is having a hard time lining up sponsors for World War III. Two months before the show, the network had failed to find a single advertiser for "The Day After," a two-hour TV special graphically depicting life after a nuclear war. The show, scheduled to air November 20, is -- according to ABC -- one of the most horrifying things ever to appear on television. The network has gone to great lengths to sell commercial time -- appealing directly to civic-minded corporate presidents and offering to run all ads before the bomb drops. But the program has drawn fire from conservatives who view it as a communist-inspired plot to promote nuclear disarmament.

Students at Notre Dame has staged a successful sit-in demonstration for more Cap'n Crunch cereal. The trouble began when the school cafeteria stopped serving the sugary cereal. Twenty angry protestors blocked the serving area and locked arms, demanding their breakfast treat. The director of food services quickly gave in, and the school is sponsoring a Cap'n Crunch festival to celebrate the victory. A representative of Quaker Oats, which makes the cereal, says "We're flattered. Nobody ever went on strike for it before."

Psychologist David Stodolsky says a big problem in running meetings is letting everyone have an equal chance to speak. The way to handle it, he says, is to hook everyone into a computer. Anyone who wants to speak pushes a button. The computer calls on people in order and, after 20 seconds, flashes the name of the next person to speak. If more than one person wants to talk, the computer chooses the one who has spoken least. Stodolsky says the best part is that the computer is completely impartial: "It won't discriminate on the basis of race, sex or anything else."

Insurance broker Allen Lawrence is offering a policy to California politicians who run afoul of campaign contribution laws. Because the rules are so complex that "anyone can make a mistake," the insurance covers court costs as well as any fine up to a million dollars.

The biggest attraction at a Palm Beach science museum is the tour guide. The museum couldn't afford a human guide, so its engineers put together 'Sir Plus,' a 4 1/2 assemblage of spare parts that rolls around the museum explaining the exhibits. People are flocking in record numbers to see the robot.

The Newspaper Advertising Bureau estimates that we see, read or hear more than 300 commercial messages every day. That's a 20 percent increase in fifteen years. The funny thing is, Madison Avenue's output has doubled in the same period, suggesting that we must be ignoring more and more ads.

Forbes magazine questioned three major airlines and found that only one -- American -- would give you extra mileage if your plane is hijacked to Havana under their frequent flier mileage bonus program. Delta Airlines said it would detract from the seriousness of the issue and a representative of Eastern said, "Is this a joke? We're not trying to promote this thing."

So far this year, four top-selling singles have taken their titles from works by American authors. The Bee Gees took "Islands in the Stream" from Hemingway; Jackson Browne took "Tender is the Night" from Fitzgerald; The Motels are using Tennessee Williams' "Suddenly Last Summer;" and Journey borrowed "After the Fall" from Arthur Miller.

movie rights to lives of numerous western outlaws. But, in truth, he like they, is an individualist in only the most narrow and selfish sense. His individualism can only exist to the pain and sorrow of others. His primary function as president has been to impose fear and order not to make other Americans or the world more free and independent, but to make America safe for himself and the Bohemian Club. The psychological damage that he has done to society more than a little parallels what happens in a community threatened by crime, banditry or terrorism. Because of his willingness to twist the law, break the consensus, lying and grinning the whole while, he not only fails dramatically to approach the John Wayne-model projected for him, but in fact comes remarkably close to that model's classic nemeses.

Part of the problem critics of the president have faced is that they have accepted this perverse inversion of images. There is nothing surprising about this; no small part of the western movie industry has fostered the confusion, making us, at will, weep for the outlaws instead of the cowboys and fear for the bandits rather than fear them. By keeping cowboy heroes and outlaw heroes in different movies, we were saved the complexity of having ever to choose between them -- a convenient oversight that many, particularly in Washington, carry into real life.

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Despite the bipartisan blessings, the Granadian invasion was illegal, immoral and unnecessary. It defied the United Nations Charter, our treaty with the Organization of American States and abrogated Congress's right to declare war. For some interesting legal background on the invasion, take a look at Stuart Taylor's piece in the October 22 New York Times. Also Josef Silverstein's November 9 letter to the same paper. Silverstein, who teaches international law at Rutgers, points out that contrary to our post-invasion assertions, there was no power vacuum in Grenada prior to the invasion, a fact we recognized by negotiating with the military junta and not with the figure-head governor-general. Silverstein also makes the fascinating point that the oft-cited treaty of the Eastern Caribbean States -- of which we are not even a signatory, was violated as well since subsection 4 of article 8 only allows joint military action to be taken on the basis of unanimous agreement. In this case, only five of the eight member states voted to take action.

The argument that the invasion was justified by the danger faced by the students remains an unsupported assertion. The last fact known prior to the invasion was that the military junta had told the US that it would protect its citizens and that those who wanted to leave



could. This may have been a lie but the Reagan administration has offered nothing to prove that it was.

Finally, it is worth noting, as Mary McGrory did, that those weapons found in the notorious overstocked warehouses were obviously not the handiwork of the recently arrived junta, but of the previous administration, and thus offered no justification for an invasion at this time.

That previous administration, under Maurice Bishop, is being rehabilitated for the present purposes of the Reagan administration, but it is worth remembering that when Bishop came to Washington not long before his assassination Reagan wouldn't give him the time of day. It reminds me somewhat of our treatment of the Iranian government prior to Khomeini taking full control. The leaders of that government ended up being killed as well, thanks in part to our failure to recognize how much worse things could get.

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I was a little startled by Archihorse's claim this month that Teddy Roosevelt won a Nobel Prize. I interrogated Archie's groom, John Wiebenson, who assures me that he double-checked it. What happened was that a couple of years after TR's Caribbean adventurism, he won the prize for helping to cool the conflict between the Russians and the Japanese. Which proves that presidents can learn while in office.

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Admiral Wesley L. McDonald told reporters on October 28 that "we were not micromanaging Grenada intelligencewise until about that time frame." Which led Bruce Felknor, director of yearbooks for the Encyclopedia Britannica, to summon up for the New York Times some translations into modern speech of other great naval quotes. The one I liked best is what Admiral Dewey would say to Gridley today: "Implementation of aggressive action approved; time frame to be selected by fire control officer." Dewey actually told his flagship captain, "You may fire when ready, Gridley."

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And speaking of military heroes, these thoughts from P.J.O'Rourke in Inquiry magazine: "[John] Glenn is best known as the only thing Thomas Wolfe ever failed to make interesting. He is the most boring person to clutter the American political scene since McKinley at mid-term. McKinley had an excuse, though; he was dead."

The Gratuitous Jingoism in Times of Crisis Award goes to the normally sane Mark Shields who actually wrote on the

Washington op-ed page, "The next time you are out in a public place and see a serviceman or woman *** go up to that person. Smile and say thank you for what he is doing. If you have an extra buck in your pocket and feel the urge, why not offer to buy that person in uniform a soda or beer?" There is nothing wrong with buying someone in uniform a beer on general principles, but to thank them for being in the unenviable position of having to follow wrong-headed or immoral orders seems somewhat misplaced. The same day I saw a pickup truck driving past the Executive Office Building with its graffiti-scrawled rear reading: "Nuke the Commies." This, Shields should know, is not too many steps away from the beer-buying mentality. But then, Shields was once a Marine, a condition not unlike malaria in that you never know when the symptoms will crop up again, something that would-be supporters of John Glenn should keep in mind.

As we muddle through this proto-authoritarian era of American politics, it is worth remembering that idiots and imperialists do not always have to rely upon the armed forces to have their way. A simple political vacuum will do the trick quite nicely. Such as the vacuum that now exists in the Democratic Party. The response of most of the Democratic presidential candidates to the Granadan invasion sounded a bit like someone trying to put off their picks in the football pool until after tonight's call-in sports show. In fact, the Democrats, especially in Congress, are not as helpless as they appear. They could, for example, start impeachment proceedings. Violating the constitutional prerogative of Congress to declare war certainly fits into the category of high crimes and misdemeanors. They could try to cut off funds for such exotic expeditions. They could, in short, sound a bit like they gave a damn whether Congress mattered or not. It won't happen, in part, because politicians as a class, would rather be elected toadies than unelected free-thinking democrats. Behind every presidential excess is an army of the loyal opposition -- looking the other way.

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Then, too, there is the problem of Tip O'Neill, the sometime-Speaker of the House, who appears to be suffering from a severe bout of split personality. One moment he appears to be reading a release written by Larry Speakes, the next he is excoriating the president.

O'Neill's troubles stem partially from his confusion over the old saw about partisanship stopping at the water's edge. He doesn't seem to understand that the ground rules have changed. There is no bipartisanship about Grenada or Lebanon; that would imply discussion, compromise and conclusion among equals. What happens now is the White House makes the moves, then the Democrats get to decide whether they'll go along or not. It is a silly trap to fall into and the fact that Tip slips so easily suggests the need for a new speaker. Not that the man can't be right on mark. James Reston found him so, interviewing him before the Democratic wind-sniffers had returned from their visit to the Caribbean, and producing such thoughts as these:

"The president is absolutely going down the wrong road. *** You can't justify any government whether it's Russia or the United States, trampling on another nation. *** Where do you go from here? Can you imagine what effect this will have on Nicaragua and Central America?

"He is wrong in his policy. He's caused us continuous harm. He flubbed everything along the line....He's just absolutely missed the boat....

"A group of old-timers came by yesterday [saying]

RONALD REAGAN,
MEET JEANE KIRKPATRICK

I am persuaded that, unless our life as societies is literally at stake -- unless we are involved in a shooting war for our survival -- we are never justified in jumping over the normal processes of democracy in order to save democracy.

JEANE KIRKPATRICK
London Times interview

you've been too harsh on our President. Boy, I haven't been too harsh on him; I don't know whether I've been tough enough....

o "He only works three to three and a half hours a day. He doesn't do his homework. He doesn't read his briefing papers. It's sinful that this man is president of the United States....

o "I told [the president] the American people don't know why the marines are [in Lebanon]. What is their mission there? I said to the president, "Schultz couldn't sell diapers in a nursery."

Yet this is the same guy who then backs the president on Grenada and Lebanon. The only bipartisanship here seems to be inside the Speaker's brain.

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According to figures produced by the Joint Center for Political Studies, if only ten percent of New York blacks who are not currently registered register and vote Democratic it would more than compensate for Ronald Reagan's margin of victory in that state in 1980. The figure in some other states are: South Carolina and Tennessee, 3%; Arkansas, 5%; Kentucky, Alabama, Massachusetts, 6%; North Carolina 7%; Mississippi, 9%.

These numbers alone are reason enough for all Democrats to welcome Jesse Jackson into the race. Although there is some question as to whether new registrants' enthusiasm for the Democratic party will wane after Jackson fails to get the nomination, the net effect can only be to increase black political participation.

Another point that has generally been missed is the uniqueness of Jackson's campaign. Despite the growth of black political officials -- there are now 244 black mayors in the US, this progress has not been accompanied by concurrent political and economic progress for the average black in this country. If anything, the gap between the black elite and the black constituency as a whole has grown, with blacks as a group losing ground as their elite wins it. Frankly, black politicians, either through lack of will or skill, have not been particularly productive. It is hard to name one black politician, for example, who comes even close to Adam Clayton Powell in his or her ability to work the system in behalf of blacks generally.

What is so striking about Jackson is that, he, unlike most black politicians, can only hope to change the system, since his chances of getting elected are so small. It is ironic that Jackson of all people, with his stunning lack of self-effacement, should fulfill this role, but history plays strange tricks, and I am more inclined to accept at face value his stated intentions than I would, say, those of Marion Barry or Harold Washington. I think we should not be fooled by Jackson's showboating and love of the multi-watt glare; the very fact that he can not be a Goode, Barry or Washington offers him another, and perhaps far more significant option -- to be a real black political leader.

Everyone, whoever they back for president, should keep in mind this potential. Jackson, if he plays his hand right, could not only significantly further black political power but perhaps even help save the nation in the process.

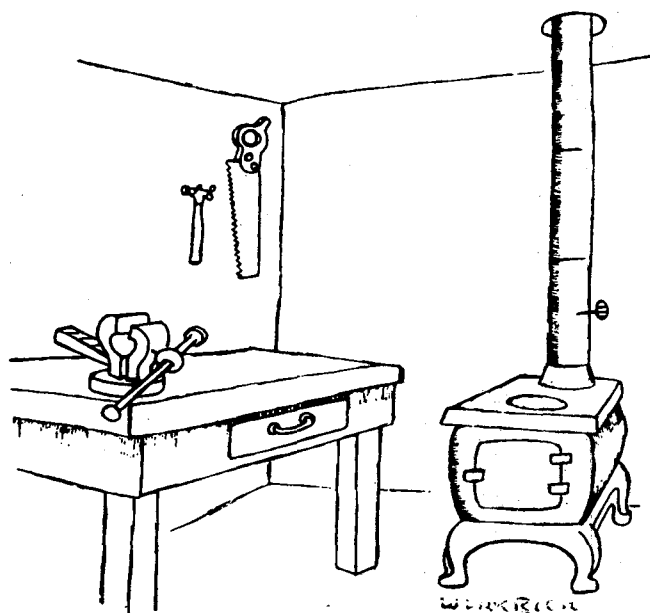
Which is not to say I don't have strong reservations

about the way Jackson has approached the campaign. There is too much of the politics of entitlement in his rhetoric -- entitlement makes a good court case but bad politics because too many many people not counted among those to be entitled see the entitlement as a threat to them. Jackson is, to be sure, bumpy on this. He speaks of a rainbow coalition, but curiously leaves Jews out of it, the largest group in the country whose voting record is deeply compatible with blacks. There should be a recognition that Harold Washington would not be mayor without significant defections of Jewish voters from a Jewish candidates. And I'm sure an analysis of the Philadelphia returns will show a higher than average white vote for Goode among Jews. Differences over the Middle East aside (and as many as 30% of Jewish voters, according to a survey taken a year ago, have serious differences themselves with the Israeli government), it seems poor politics to limit the rainbow to the currently oppressed. Jackson's mentor, King, would have spread the rainbow far further and would have emphasize the human reasons for change, rather than merely the black or latino or feminist ones.

Further, declaring a coalition doesn't make it happen. Already there has been some friction between Jackson supporters and white feminists because groups like NOW have not loyally jumped on the Jackson bandwagon upon his declaration that he is their leader. This is another reflection of the entitlement mentality, and, in this case, a bit naive considering Jackson's antipathy to abortion.

But even if, for such reasons, Jackson remains primarily a black, rather than a national or even a rainbow leader, he stands enough of a chance of bringing to life latent and necessary political strengths in this country, that even Walter Mondale, if he's as concerned about the nation as he says he is, should be glad to have him in the race.

In this month's Progressive Notes you will find yet another item pointing to some of the as-yet little studied health consequences of using VDT terminals. Although the Gazette is, so-to-speak, computerized, our particular device -- a Radio Shack Model 100 -- uses a liquid crystal display, a sort of blown up version of what you see on a digital watch. Having used both the LCD and the VDT, I can tell you that the difference is quite astounding. I find that typing on a LCD (like right now) is even less tiresome than typing on a piece of paper. I can adjust the brightness of the screen to my inclinations, the type is roughly twice the size of normal typewriter characters and there is none of that annoying space-age flicker and glare you find on a VDT. The screen is only eight lines by 40 characters, but I suspect that full-scale LCD screens will be available before too long. Incidentally, the Radio Shack 100 is a phenomenal device which is only 8"x11"x2", can be run on four AA batteries, and, with 32K of memory, 24 built-in file slots, an internal modem for telephone communications, and other goodies, I can set the Gazette, pay bills, do accounts with a 13 column by 18 row spreadsheet and keep a self-dialing telephone directory -- lounging in my favorite chair all the while. The main thing I have to watch out for is that I don't spill my drink on the keyboard.



PEACEKEEPERS OR PROBLEM?

William O. Beeman

In the wake of the tragic bombing of French and American troops in Beirut, President Reagan has said that the United States intends to keep forces there, and to resist "the bestial nature of those that would assume power" in Lebanon.

Yet the blunt truth is that, for the majority of Lebanese it is the United States and France who are the beasts. Their perception is rooted deeply in history, and force will only confirm it.

In the first place, Washington's approach ignores an essential fact about Lebanon. There is only one thing on which its warring religious and ethnic groups have been able to agree over the years -- they do not want foreign forces occupying their nation, and will go to extreme lengths to remove them.

The feeling is especially strong among Shi'a Moslems. The Shi'as are the largest single group in Lebanon today, with approximately 30 percent of the population. By contrast, Sunni Muslims and Maronite Christians each constitute slightly over 20 percent of the population. But the Shi'a community is also Lebanon's poorest and most powerless. And they have nothing to gain from supporting a course of events which will perpetuate Israeli occupation of their homeland, and a Maronite Christian minority government in Beirut.

Thus, Lebanon is fertile ground for the philosophies of the most powerful Islamic movement in the 20th Century -- the Iranian Revolution. Pictures of the Ayatollah Khomeini adorn every Shi'a mosque in Lebanon. The Druze, who share some common theological history with the Shi'as, have been likewise affected by the power of Iranian rhetoric.

Khomeini's revolutionary doctrine calls for resistance of corrupting, non-Islamic forces at whatever cost -- even at the sacrifice of one's own life. For the Shi'a community, this message has enormous potency right now, because it is also their most important period of religious mourning -- the Islamic month of Moharran, in which the death of Imam Hussein, the seminal Shi'a historical figure, is mourned. Hussein chose martyrdom in 680 AD, rather than yield to what he considered the illegitimate rule of external corrupt forces. He was the chief symbol of the Iranian Revolution.

During Moharran, Shi'as hear daily sermons about the meaning of Hussein's death, and participate in ritual chanting and mourning, emphasizing the need to defend rights and resist the wrongs, whatever the cost. In Iran, such gatherings inspired thousands to march to their deaths, unarmed, at the hands of the Shah's army.

Today, the United States and France are seen as the principal supporters of illegitimate power in Lebanon, as represented mainly by Israel and the Christian minority government. Moreover, the history of that nation has been a continual struggle for self-determination against external domination, often against these same enemies.

Arguably, the very event which brought about the creation of the state of

Lebanon was a bloody conflict between French-backed Maronites and British-backed Druze 120 years ago. In 1860, the Ottoman Sultan carved a new province out of greater Syria, around Mt. Lebanon, to contain the two warring factions. The French continued to protect the Maronites, and in the eyes of the Muslim community, to support their exploitation of other religious communities.

The French continued to dominate Lebanese affairs until the end of World War II. Paris defied a League of Nations mandate assuring governance of Syria and Lebanon as one territory, and created the modern state of Lebanon by appending Moslem areas of Syria to the Christian Mt. Lebanon area. This state included Beirut, Tripoli and the southern Shi'a territory -- just enough Christians to assure Paris' continued influence over trade and cultural affairs, but enough Moslems to assure that France would always be needed to defend "Lebanese interests."

The revolution of 1958, to

which Pres. Eisenhower sent troops for the "preservation of order," and to help Lebanon defend itself against "indirect aggression," had its origins in an attack on Maronite president Tammile Chamoun for his extreme pro-Westernism. The use of U.S. troops then had a calming effect on the country, and resulted in a coalition which lasted until the next civil war in 1975.

By the '70s, demographics had shifted, however. Christians were much more distinctly in the minority, and a pro-Western Christian government found itself pitted against a majority Muslim population, full of Arab nationalism and committed to oppose Israel.

In 1983, dissident Muslim and Druze factions in Lebanon see only one possible outcome from the round of talks proposed for early November -- continued Christian (hence French) and American domination of their nation.

In their eyes, the Syrians do not count as foreign, because most of present-day Lebanon was historically part

of Syria. Indeed, many Lebanese still consider themselves Syrian, and a central issue in the conflict with the Christians has been the desire of the Muslims and Druze to establish closer ties with Damascus.

For this reason, Israel's peace formula, which equates Syrian and Israeli occupation of Lebanon, is simply not culturally accurate.

Given these underlying perceptions and realities, one thing is now patently clear: The United States cannot play an effective diplomatic part in Lebanon unless it is willing to forego military force. The longer the Marines remain there, the more they will be digging themselves into a ready-made villain's role -- serving as symbols of Western domination for people who have been combatting such forces for over a century. The result would not be peace, but a prolongation of violence in Lebanon.

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CUBAN ALAMO?

Nelson Valdes

For those who measure success with a geopolitical ruler, the invasion of Grenada signifies a swift and major victory for the United States in the ongoing struggle between East and West.

But this is not just another play in that familiar global chess game.

The confrontation on the tiny island of Grenada represents instead a battle between the developed "North" and the weak, underdeveloped "South." In those terms, countries of the Third World see Cuba winning a significant political and moral victory.

Consider the following:

-- Cuban nationals on Grenada moved quickly to resist the U.S. intervention, and to defend the territory and installations they controlled. Soviet personnel on the island did not resist in any manner.

-- An estimated 800 Cubans, of whom 40 were actually military advisors, managed to fight an invading force of about 3,000 for some 36 hours -- despite the fact that the U.S. controlled the air, the sea and most of the surrounding land.

-- The Cubans had orders to resist until they ran out of ammunition and under no circumstances to surrender.

-- In the final moment of battle, the morning of Oct. 26, six Cuban nationals, holding their country's flag, may have killed themselves rather than be taken by the U.S. forces, according to Cuban media.

This is the sort of behavior that Pentagon computer programs cannot quantify or evaluate. Yet the commitment

it reflects has significant impact on world affairs.

U.S. military planners were surprised by the opposition they encountered from a portion of the Grenadan population and the Cubans. They had to bring the Rapid Deployment Force of the 82nd Airborne into the battle, although this was not originally planned because American strategists assumed the whole affair would meet little resistance.

Cuban civilians put up an unheard-of fight. U.S. military officials have said most of them may have been regular soldiers, which would explain their fighting capacity.

That may be so. But anyone who knows about Cuba knows that the Cuban Revolution has universalized military training, which now begins in elementary schools, as well as discipline and organization. U.S. forces at Salinas Airport confronted a highly motivated force of Cubans. The Third World understands that motivation.

-- The Cubans were defending the integrity as well as the honor of the Grenadian people, even though the Cuban regime had been highly critical of the murders committed Oct. 18 by the government of Hudson Austin.

-- The Cubans were fighting as well for the dignity of revolutionaries the world over who have rejected colonial rule and control.

-- The Cubans were also demonstrating their leadership and their commitment to stand up to the United States.

-- The Cubans also believed that standing firm in Grenada could send a message to the United States -- that

it should not try to do the same in Nicaragua or Cuba.

As Angel Pino, speaking from the Cuban Interest Section in Washington, D.C., puts it, "Those Cubans in Grenada are determining not only their own fate but the fate of Nicaragua and Cuba. In other words, to the extent that they offer resistance, they will make sure that this aggression will not go unnoticed. If this were an easy victory, those who make policy in the U.S. would continue to escalate. They will think that if it was easy in Grenada, it will also be easy in Nicaragua and next in Cuba."

Cuban defiance of the greatest power in the world may very well capture the imagination of the Third World countries, as the death of Che Guevara did in the 1960s.

It might seem to us that it is foolish to resist insurmountable forces. Yet actions such as this take on symbolic import and contribute to the building of a nation, to developing of national identity, to the strengthening of community. In the 19th century, "Remember the Alamo" elicited the kind of response in Americans that the word Grenada will now produce among Cubans.

Cuban behavior in the Third World is not a response to Soviet designs. The Cuban Revolution has a foreign policy of its own.

-(c)PNS



GREEN ALTERNATIVE Cont'd

issues. It is the domination of human by human as it is ultimately expressed in war, weaponry and the Patton-image of the combative male that gave rise to the very notion of dominating nature. From the age of Homer's 'Illiad' and the bronze-age warrior to the present, the war against nature in the form of resource-exploitation and lust for control of the entire living world has had its origins in the war of human beings against each other. On the other hand, the abolition of the war against nature with its all-consuming fever of domination has its roots in a sensibility of peace -- of peace between humanity and nature that derives from peace between human and human. Ecology and peace are united by the grammar, vocabulary and sensibility of a respect for life as a whole, be it life in human society or the more general web of life we call the biosphere.

Consider, too, how ecological issues interlock with feminist issues. From time immemorial, woman has been the symbol of nature revered and later, in patriarchal society, of a nature degraded. The attempt to curb her rich spontaneity and to "manage" her fecundity as the bearer of children expresses in the most personal terms the domineering male's appetite to subdue the life forms of our planet. In the subjugation of woman, he daily affronts her very being as the symbol of nature, just as his affront of nature expresses his violation of woman's identity and integrity.

Not accidentally, women has now taken increasing custody of ecological and peace issues in the form of eco-feminism and the opposition to missile-siting. The English women who stood vigil at the American military base at Greatham Common are the exact counterpart of their American sisters in Women for Life on Earth who ringed the Pentagon in protest against Washington's rearment policies and the women who took part in the Seneca Falls peace Encampment this summer. For women of both countries, it is not only war in its military sense that has to be eliminated but war in its ecological sense.

Finally, consider how our existence as a democracy and the libertarian traditions spawned by the American Revolution overarch this broad constellation of problems, including the freedom of our communities and the empowerment of our citizenry. Bereft of our liberties, we become voiceless and passive -- the debased conscripts of an all-encompassing military machine. No less than our freedom to express our views and act upon them, we must seek to perpetuate the institutions that guarantee these rights -- the forms of freedom such as town meetings, the electoral accountability of public officials to the people, and the various constitutional means we use to alter public policy.

Germany's Greens have their origins primarily in battles waged by counter-cultural people around nuclear reactors, the Frankfurt Airport's plan to extend a landing strip into one of the area's last pine forests, the occupation of old buildings by squatters, the impact of an all-pervasive feminist movement, and only later, the Pentagon's attempt to site Pershing and Cruise missiles on German soil.

We have not reached this broad, unified and increasingly coherent level of social concerns. We are too focused on trying to deal with each issue as though it can be separated from the others which loom over us. We suffer from a bad American habit of "setting priorities" rather than establishing connections in a coherent and programmatic way. The attempt to extend our democratic liberties is a striking example of a problem that can be narrowed to a "single issue" with its own "network" and "constituency" -- or can be broadened to the proportions it deserves so that it becomes the cement for uniting all the other issues into the historic problem of public empowerment and grassroots control of our social destiny. We can deal with it as a matter of "civil rights" and lock it into exhausting court battles or election campaigns. Or we can deal with it as a matter of human rights that concerns the fate of our republican constitution and our basic liberties as a free people.

With a vast technological revolution in the offing, based on dazzling advances in cybernetics and robotics,

our country is faced with long-range unemployment on a massive scale, social unrest, and ultimately a concerted effort to regiment our country by diminishing its liberties and rights. This is no idle problem. It overshadows everything we will do in the decades ahead -- that is, short of nuclear war of ecological catastrophe. Indeed, our very power to prevent war and ecological breakdown will grimly depend on our ability to preserve these very liberties and rights so painfully gained over past generations.

The industrial, military and political elites that manage America know this only too well. They are burdened by our traditional, semi-agrarian republican constitution which continually entangles them in obstacles that guard the public interest. Limited as we may think our freedoms may be, they are too numerous and compelling to enable the elites to manage a society in which millions will have no home in a robotic economy, no stake in a cybernetic technology, and no hope in an increasingly centralized bureaucratized political structure.

The establishment, you can be sure, has no "tunnel vision." Nationally, it is giving more power to the FBI and CIA, training "special forces" for domestic as well as foreign control, sophisticating its surveillance technology, closing off information to the public, and trying to meld the legislation and judicial branches of the government into an increasingly imperial executive.

The entire Bill of Rights is under siege. Ultimately, these powers will have to militarize the entire country on a scale that will make futuramas like 'Blade Runner' seem picyune. The trick they use is to not overhaul the republic in one fell swoop. They pare it away piecemeal by extending executive terms of office (a six-year presidency is currently being floated in Washington), by substituting bureaucratic and professional agencies for local citizen organizations, by enlarging centralized government functions at the expense of the city and town functions. All of this, to be sure, is done in the name of "efficiency," "cost-reduction," and "expertise."

This is the Army way. It is militarism in politics, economics and daily life as it is militarism in schools when the ROTC plants its noxious roots. Seen in this broad light, the peace movement is fighting the larger issue of a militarized society, not only a monopoly of violence by state agencies and their armed forces. It is fighting the regimentation of people in every walk of life, not merely the conscription of young people. It is fighting a suffocating sensibility that sees nature as mere "resources," not only people as cannon fodder. It is fighting "generals" at every level of society -- in three-piece suits, lab coats, and academic gowns, not only brass-decorated uniforms.

Looking beyond the obvious: the struggle to prevent a six-year presidency covers exactly the same terrain as fighting the production of Gatling guns or B-1 bombers. Once the Army way prevails in our politics, economics, and life styles, we may well lose the very means to deal with the single issues that confront us, indeed the very freedom to cry out, "Peace!"



CITY DESK Cont'd

forms out to license-holders and got an amazing 220,000 back. The response, says a city representative, is "phenomenal." She said it was doubtful that many of the certificates of insurance were fraudulent.

Diana McCellan in the Washington Times reports that Florence Tate, whom Marion Barry foolishly dumped as his press secretary back in '80, will crop up as Jesse Jackson's pressie. As Diana puts it, Tate got the mushroom treatment from Barry: they keep you in the dark, shovel a lot of crap on you, and you spend your time worrying about getting canned.

The city council revised the city's cooperative housing law last month to allow apartment associations to base voting on value of equity rather than on a one-member-one-vote system. The only problem is that one of the key elements of a cooperative is the one-member-one-vote principle. Allowing more votes to those with larger shares is not really cooperativism -- it's just traditional capitalism. What the city council actually did was to vote to allow cooperatives not to operate as cooperatives.

The plan

As mentioned here previously, a legally-enacted land-use map is a key part of any comprehensive plan. For any readers who won't take my word for it, I offer as witnesses on my behalf Kirk White and Phil Feona -- lawyers for the zoning firm of Linowes & Blocher. White is also formerly a top aide in the city planning department. Hear what words they saith in a letter to developers and real estate types:

"The most controversial aspect of the proposed plan is the use of a detailed land use map. The mayor has transmitted to the council a proposed land use map and, while he encourages the council not to adopt this map as law, it is likely the council, under political pressure, will adopt the map in some form. The map and the plan are not consistent. If the map is adopted, the land use objectives expressed in the map will have a serious limiting effect on future actions by District agencies in regard to zoning and development. It is, in effect, a zoning map. It largely depicts existing conditions and thus suggests maintaining the status quo....The plan and map, if adopted, greatly limit the flexibility of the District government to react positively to specific development proposals."

White and Feon also notes, "The major potential problem is that the plan, if adopted as proposed, can be misused by opponents of growth and change to tie up land development through litigation. Further, the land use, urban design and historic preservation elements, when read together, significantly restrict the flexibility of property owners. For example, new buildings in historic districts would be limited to the height and bulk of existing buildings. This, in effect, would supercede the zoning of the site and significantly restrict its development. Further, the plan seeks to regulate and/or discourage many land uses, such as fast food operations, churches, restaurants, entertainment establishments, hospitals, universities and others."

The key is the map. The plan itself is written in Planner Gothic, a mealy-mouthed document that can only make a lawyer happy. The map, if enacted into law -- with certain necessary changes, would provide real protection. That's why Kirk White and Phil Feola are so worried about it.

One of the ways the city has improved its stats has been more than a decade of effort directed towards reducing the number of families in the city. Families, according to the city hall view, are a pain in the neck. They require expensive things like public schools. Then when the kids get older they become juvenile delinquents and that costs money, too. This agenda has never been articulated but it has been clear from the planning policies since the sixties. As a measure of the success of the city agenda, DC now has only thirty percent of its households headed by married couples.

Where the growth is

Despite the tons of money poured into DC east of 15th Street, the real growth in downtown employment has occurred on in the Connecticut-K Street area. The area added 25,000 jobs between 1976 and 1980 -- almost as many as exist at the next largest area employment area, Tysons Corner. This should be something of an embarrassment to city planners and politicians but they undoubtedly will choose to ignore the implication that they have wasted millions of dollars fighting natural shifts in the center of downtown. You will find precious few grand city schemes for the Connecticut & K area, but you will find jobs. Council of Governments analyst Robert B. Dumphny, who did a study of employment centers, notes that "Employment in Washington increased sharply over the period in the growing office center around Connecticut Avenue and K Street, even while there were job losses in the older retail core." The latter being, of course, where the public money went. Sic transit your tax dollars.

The [Comprehensive Plan] indicates the need to produce about 38,000 new units of housing to replace deteriorated stock and meet market demand between now and the year 2000. Additionally, some 5000 units current not in use need to be rehabilitated and brought back into use. *** Nearly 24,000 units of housing are unoccupied of which nearly 10,000 are vacant units, not for sale or rent. The highest concentrations of vacant housing stock is in Wards 1, 2 and 8.

Unfortunately, *** the plan makes no correlation between the need for housing and targeting housing development to those areas of the city where vacant housing is most abundant. *** The plan states there is a need and that the city must do all it can to meet this need, but nothing is offered in terms of providing any assurances that the need will be met in those areas of the city faced with critical housing problems.

*** The plan clearly lacks a commitment to addressing the needs of overcoming the problems of long neglected neighborhoods. At no point does the plan indicate that anything will be done relating to these neighborhoods or provide any steps to be taken to indicate anything will be done.

*** The vagueness of the plan places tremendous limitations on what we can really determine to be its intent. This ambiguity is the primary weakness. We really don't know where this plan will take us. It doesn't make a commitment to taking us anywhere.

BETTI WHALEY
President
Washington Urban League

Traffic ignores Metro

The latest spinoff from Metroflop was reported last month by the Post: "The number of cars heading into the downtown area at rush hour has reached a new peak this year, leaving highways jammed and prompting many commuters to start out from home before 730 am, according to a study released....by the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments. Most of the roadways leading into the downtown area 'are at capacity,' said Jon Williams, a transportation engineer who headed the COG study. 'There's no room for [more] cars.' The number of cars traveling into the central employment area during morning rush hours climbed by nearly 11 percent during the past two years...."

Long-time readers of the Gazette can skip to the next item because I'm going to repeat for the benefit of new subscribers something that has been said here repeatedly for the past twelve years: subways do not reduce street traffic. A major reason is that subways function as an attractive nuisance. They encourage development but only a minor portion of the new development's occupants arrives by subway. Most of them come by car. Thus a net increase in commuter street traffic can actually be caused by a subway -- precisely what seems to be happening in downtown Washington.

Now some cheerful mass transit news. The Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Commission does not regulate horse-drawn carriages. This is not historical trivia but a contemporary decision of the aforementioned body in a matter brought before it by the Old Vet Carriage Company Inc., which wanted to operate some horse-drawn tours and asked the WMATC for a decision on the matter. In a seven-page ruling, the WMATC plumbed the legal precedents and announced that "we can divine no intent for us to regulate transportation by horse or any form of conveyance not artificially powered." The commission solemnly declared that it had "found it has no jurisdiction over transportation for hire, by horse-drawn vehicles, between points in the Metropolitan District."

Just for the record, a recent report of the city government found that there was a rental vacancy rate of 2.5%, approximately 200 new rental units have been built in the city in the past year compared with 1400 having been demolished, and only 344 units had been rehabilitated in the same time.

Algae blooms started appearing again last summer on the Potomac River, after several years' absence. The blooms showed up at various points including coves on the Maryland side below the Wilson Bridge. There's some controversy as to the cause. Some note the hot, dry weather combined with high spring flows. Others suggest that discharge from waste water plants is to blame. Northern Virginia treatment plants and possibly poor performance at Blue Plains are being cited by proponents of the later view.

The group that has been working on an initiative to provide more citizen control over utilities has decided to offer two separate proposals. One would provide for an elected public service commission and the other an elected Peoples Counsel. This is on its way to being a really hot issue. Watch it.

Don't Tear It Down, with the support of the Shaw Neighborhood Commission, has received federal funds to do a historic survey of the Shaw area to determine whether it merits an historic district application.

DC notes

David Scheim, author of 'Contract on America,' will discuss his book on November 22 at noon in the main lobby of the Martin Luther King Library. The free talk is part of the library's lunchtime author series.

A new edition of 'Resources for Older Persons,'



Roses & Thorns

ROSES TO JOE GRANO for yet another victory in the long battle to save Rhodes Tavern. Overcoming the developer's best old friend, the Washington Post, and the developer's surprising new friend, the labor unions, Grano and a growing band of Rhodes supporters won a smashing success for an initiative that will, unless the appeals court overturns a lower court decision on the matter, force Oliver Carr to negotiate with a city commission in a serious attempt to preserve the building.

ROSES TO LORETTA NEUMANN, who recently retired as editor of the Neighbors Inc. newsletter, perhaps the best journal published by a neighborhood organization in the city.

THORNS TO DON'T TEAR IT DOWN, which in its final newsletter before the election had only this to say about Rhodes Tavern: a quote from Benjamin Forgey, towit, "The dispute has tended to obscure these important facts: There are entire clusters of attractive buildings downtown, and there is time left to save them. What has been lacking, so far, is the will." The important word here is "attractive." Don't Tear It Down struck a deal with Oliver Carr to preserve two "attractive" facades on 15th Street in return for not fighting for the preservation of Rhodes Tavern.

It is extraordinary that the group that considers itself the leader of the preservation movement should be a no-show on one of the great preservation issues of the city. But the reason, sadly, is that there are a lot of people who think that only the beautiful of the past should be preserved. Don't Tear It Down has done much good work but in this case took a Walt Disney approach to history.

THORNS TO COUNCILMEMBER JERRY MOORE for introducing legislation to rename U Street from 9th St to 19th St NW as Prince Hall Avenue. Prince Hall was a founder of the black Masons, but is more associated with Boston than Washington. More importantly, if Moore's move is successful, it could be the opening step towards the destruction of DC's logical street pattern. Who knows when it might end -- perhaps with 7th Street being renamed Ivanhoe Donaldson Strasse? The mind reels at the awful possibilities.

published by Iona House, was issued in September. The guide is revised and expanded. To get a copy call Iona House at 966-1055.

The Washington Deposit Coalition has been formed to seek a law that requires a five cent deposit on soft drink and beer cans and bottles. Sponsors include Common Cause and the League of Women Voters. Info: 387-3915

David Burnham, author of the 'The Rise of the Computer State', speaks at the MLK Library on November 29 at noon. The free talk is part of the library's luncheon book program. The library says to feel free to bring a bag lunch.

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